1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

dained as man's food. But this privilege has been granted by themselves and must not be abused. The slightest waste or cruelty will cause them not only to withdraw the food supply but also to punish man himself by disease. The way to cure disease is to please the animals by virtuous living and thus acquire power to overcome the evils they send. The cycle is complete. The connection of practical economy with religious belief has been worked out by this frugal people as far as by anyone.

Not only the animals are living powers. Every part of the natural environment is also personified and must be treated with circumspection and respect. The individual, when going about his duties, should never attack nature roughly, but explain his need and ask for help. "I have come to get clay," says the woman who is digging material for her pots, "be favorable to me." The hunter, bending over a dead deer, apologizes: "I have killed you because I need food. Do not be angry." The planter, taking a handful of corn kernels from his pouch, adjures them: "I am dropping you into the earth. Now ripen well." It is a religion whose every act is focused upon the forces of nature, constraining them to help man or, at least, not to hinder him in his arduous tasks.

Those forces are not either good or evil. The Papago do not explain the supernatural world as a dualism, inhabited by both kindly and maleficent spirits. Rather, it is permeated by power which is helpful or destructive according to the medium through which it passes. A good being, human or supernatural, will use it for good; a bad one for evil. And the same being will change from time to time. Thus I'itoi and Earthmaker are not opposed forces, like God and the devil, but both in turn benefit man; then both mishandle their power and harm him. So the animal guardian spirits can turn unfriendly and send diseases. So the shaman can change from a healer to a sorcerer.

The fear of power is an underlying motive in Papago religion quite as much as the reverence for it. A man who has obtained power through vision or ceremony is regarded with apprehension as well as respect. "He might forget to take care of his fetish, and then he could make us all sick." The shaman, greatest recipient of power, is also the only villager who can be killed with impunity.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

After this they practiced the songs until midnight or later. No one might leave until practice was over and the leader dismissed them. Then the workers might go home, to return early in the morning. There seem to have been no sexual restrictions on the workers, or even on the singers, but all officials must remain continent during the whole time of preparation. The village leader generally stayed in the shelter all night, and many of the men kept him company. The women brought food to the door, and the men often cooked for themselves.

The men who had the hereditary function of Navitcu, ceremonial clown, were in costume during all the days of preparation. They went through all the houses of the village and the camps of the visitors, begging food for the workers. They never spoke, but gave high, squealing cries. Anyone who was sick might put himself in the way of the clown and ask to be cured. The clown would then touch him on the head, both shoulders, breast, and back. When the clowns were not begging, they practiced dancing in the enclosure. It was also their duty to warn off any strangers or visitors from another village or any women who might venture near it.[8]

Also, during the ten days of preparation the corn-meal sprinklers were continually on duty. Each village had a sprinkler and a helper, whose offices were hereditary. One or the other stood at the door of the enclosure all of the time and sprinkled corn meal on anyone who entered. Every night, toward morning, the corn-meal sprinkler went to every house in the village to sprinkle the sleeping inhabitants. For this purpose he was costumed by his helper in the enclosure. He wore a kilt of homespun, undyed cotton (at present a white shirt) over the whole body and a woven cotton sash with long ends. To the belt, on his left side, was fastened a bell (formerly two spiral shells). His arms and legs were painted with white clay, on which spots were made by touching the wet clay with the finger. He wore sandals and had cocoon rattles around his ankles. His hair was tied up for running, bound with a cotton head band in which were two white eagle feathers at the back of the head, one upright, one slanting down.

[8] The use of the Navitcu impersonation by the Pima (Russell, p. 266) gives the impression that they may once have had the wiikita though this impersonation is now used only for curing.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

17. Over all the high mountains
An old buck runs.
There I stand and watch,
Dizzily, here and there,
He leaps.(12)

Deer effigy

During the whole performance the clowns circulated among the spectators and dodged in and out through the processions. At the festival of 1932 there were thirty such clowns. They wore the usual dress, consisting of a white cotton sheet, belted at the waist, with a huge bunched headdress of turkey plumes. They ran about, begging for food by signs and squeaks, several relatives of each clown following him to carry the donations. A few clowns always acted as policemen to keep intruders off the dance ground. At noon the procession ceased, while the effigybearers ate, and then the clowns gave a performance. They constructed a little ceremonial house by piling up jars, pretended to dance, to make liquor, and to get drunk. They gave an imitation of planting, harvesting, and looking for rain. When not engaged in some other special performance, they danced about in front of the ceremonial enclosure.

The clown is considered to have healing powers. In old days, at the prayer-stick festival, sick people sat in a row and begged him to come and cleanse them. On being given a handful of corn meal, he would put down his bow and make a clownish search for the white feathers which he kept hidden. With these he brushed away the sickness, or if he carried a cactus stick he might use that, breathing on the patient at the same time. Anyone who merely wanted safety and good fortune could ask for the same procedure.

Many illnesses were thought to result from the breaking of some taboo at the prayer-stick festival. Since the infringement might be slight, one was often not aware of what had happened till many years afterward. When the shaman finally diagnosed the case, either the clown must be called, or a miniature festival with singing must be held. One informant, when a young girl, tripped when she was carrying some paraphernalia in her carrying basket

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

for the men of the family, and she attributes her present rheumatism to this accident. Her mother, at the time, urged her to be cleansed by the clown, but she was afraid. The small boys with the snouted masks may also cure illness by tapping the patient with their feathered wands.[7]

The five villages sometimes finished singing their eight songs apiece in the forenoon. In that case they might go through them again in the afternoon, but usually the performance, with a long pause at midday, lasted until about three o'clock. Then the spectators went home. The feast leader for each village, with the help of the singers, gathered up all the paraphernalia, wands, and effigies and took them a little way out into the desert. There they were left to disintegrate. "No one would touch them; they are too dangerous." The prayer sticks previously made were distributed to all, or at least to the older men, who rubbed them down their bodies, praying, "Let evil fly away. Let me feel well—not sleepy; not lazy." They then placed the sticks in their storerooms or houses for luck. The temporary enclosure which housed the ceremony might be pulled down or allowed to stand, untouched, until it fell. For the next feast, four years later, everything was made new.

THE SUMMER CEREMONY,[8] QUITOVACA, SONORA

The feast at Quitovaca, in the Mexican half of Papagueria, was similar in general outline to the more impressive one at Archie. It took place at the full moon in August, and the villages joining were those in the southern part of the reservation and in Sonora, all "relatives" of Quitovaca.

Twelve days before the festival there was a cleansing ceremony, when a deer was killed and eaten.[9] Then messenger sticks were sent out, indicating that the festival would take place in twelve days. There was no such elaborate preparation as for the Archie ceremony. No songs were composed, and no effigies or prayer sticks made, but the Quitovaca people made their cactus cider at

[7] This and other aspects of the festival have such obvious likenesses to Pueblo procedure that a detailed comparison is in preparation.

[8] This ceremony has been briefly described by Davis.

[9] See p. 115.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

CURING PROCEDURE

755 A family who wanted the shaman's presence sent a messenger to put a little corn meal in his hand. If they planned to pay for his [20] services with a horse or a cow, they might send a bit of manure as a symbol. The shaman arrived after dark and seated himself beside the sick man with the eagle feathers in his left hand and the rattle in his right. A new shaman would not sit near the patient, but at some distance, moving forward gradually during the night of singing.

His songs were not meant to cure the patient, but to induce in himself a trance state in which he could see the cause of disease. They referred to visions of his own, experienced in such a state. All who wished might gather to hear the shaman sing, but it was his object to make his songs unintelligible so that none might share their power. He used a special kind of voice production, known as [195] *kuátkua*, a hoarse croaking, which made the words of his song unintelligible. Often he did not sing the words at all but merely the tune. Each shaman had a different technique in this respect, to which he always held. One singer, heard of by the writer, sang the song through twice without words, then twice with words.(26) Another, at every other repetition, began in the middle of the song.(16) Another always interpolated one repetition with intelligible words.(20) The rattle was moved horizontally when there were no words, and vertically with words.

755 x 639

SONGS DREAMED BY A MODERN SHAMAN[a]

9. Do you see, my younger brother?
Now I sit down.
My gourd rattle I move in a circle;
Evening rushes out.
Yonder everywhere it sifts down.

Do you see, my younger brother?
Now I sit down.
My gourd rattle in a circle I move.
Morning rushes out.
Yonder everywhere it shines. (16)

[a] See Pima songs, Russell pp. 302–3.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

785
539x

10. There will be a flood;
There will be a flood.
Coyote, my partner,
Cut a reed
And lay within.
He raised up his head
And continually
Kept looking at the sky.(16)

11. *Haiya*, my comrade [Coyote],
Stole my songs;
In the sky he placed them.(16)

12. Over toward the north
Many mountains stand.
From within them a great serpent came forth,
Moving its head to and fro.(16)

13. A little gray horned toad
Came out across the darkness.
Right around he twisted,
Stretched out his neck
And told me Something.

14. A little red scalp shaman
At night and morning
Sings.
Inside the painted arrow,
It says it is a shaman.(16)

15. Far over there
I'itoi died.
Down upon the earth he came
And saw the reed.
Again he came and saw
Many girls, bearing flowers.(16)

SHAMAN'S SONGS (OLD)

16. Truly you treated me ill
My younger brothers;
Then I, a little way going,
Stood still.
To the sun I held out my hands; gently,

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

755
539

I stood there.
Then a little earth in my closed hand I held,
Toward the sun throwing it.(20)

17. Two children
Tied up my head
And hung me upside down.
My poor wife
For four nights sought me, weeping.
Sun man!
Do something to heal me.(16)

18. Lo, it is I'itoi
Who comes to meet me.
No, not little I'itoi;
It is my comrade [Coyote]
With a golden headdress.
He comes to meet me.(20)

19. An earth crack;
An earth crack!
Out of it I'itoi comes.
To the sky he takes me.
Thus he makes me a shaman.
Surely he will make me a shaman;
What can you do to me?(20)

20. The sun was sinking;
In front of it
A rainbow came out crosswise.
Then I beneath it
Came running forth.(20)

21. At the shore of the river
The sun has just set.
I turn back.
Baboquiviri Mountain
Can no longer be seen.(16)

22. There will be a flood.
The water is roaring.
Then a duck girl came out.
She talked; she wept.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

755
539x

While around and around the white mountain
She went circling.(16)

23. The lizard man, shaman,
To him you compare me,
To him who enters all the houses.
But let no one think of me at all.
It is this which will cure you.(20)

A species of large lizard is known as the house lizard because it infests houses. [825]

24. Coyote, my comrade,
Hither ran.
To the end of his tail
A cloud was tied.(26)

25. Coyote, my comrade,
Spit on the tips of his fingers.
He laid them on [the sick man]
"*Haiya*, sickness!
I don't know what you are!
Then I, having looked in vain,
Sit back."(26)

755
787
533

Among the songs describing shamanistic visions were quoted animal songs indistinguishable from those of the curing singers. A shaman averred, however, that such songs could be dreamed as well as any other and were as suitable for producing a trance. It seems possible that this was not always the case, but at least at present there is an overlapping of songs of the diagnostician and those of the curing singer.

755
539x

26. Little black turtle
Toward Badger Well was crawling;
Toward it, squint-eyed, he was looking.
Near him I stood,
And twisting up he looked at me.(26)

27. Little full-bodied turtle
All alone!
His wife ran away,

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Yonder up Baboquiviri he climbs,
Trying to look for her.(20)

One comic song is included, dreamed by a modern shaman, who uses it in curing.

28. Tucson!
A wretched place.
Thither I went
And saw all the girls.
It made me dizzy to see [the things]
Stuck up on their heads [hats].(16)

After four songs had been sung in this manner, the shaman "cleansed" the patient by touching him with the eagle feathers from the head to the feet, thus dusting off the evil. Each shaman had special mannerisms in the handling of the eagle feathers, some shaking them direct at the patient, some waving them in the air before the cleansing. Doctors were famous on the reservation for these peculiarities.

After the cleansing, the shaman smoked. He might bring his own tobacco, or it might be supplied by the family. Some shamans blew smoke over the patient as is done in the surrounding areas. If he had a visible crystal, he then placed it on the ground before him. It cast a ray of light on the patient's body, showing the seat of disease or the presence of an intrusive object. The ray might not strike clearly for some time, and meantime the shaman fortified himself by singing and smoking. If enlightenment was slow in coming, he might go outside, hoping to fall into a trance and induce another vision. Such a trance is mentioned in the following song.

29. On the desert, far off I lay;
On the desert, far off I lay.
In the deep night, there I learned.
Truly I shall turn into a bull.
Even now I learned it.(20)

At midnight the family of the patient provided food. By this time diagnosis was close, unless the case was very obstinate. The

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

shaman began to think about his pay and some introduced hints into their songs. One is reported to have sung:

> Don't give me beads,
> I am not young and handsome.
> Give me a horse; a horse!

A horse or cow was the usual pay, and the family generally brought in a piece of manure to indicate what it would be. If diagnosis were difficult, the shaman might have to sing on other nights (four was the ritual number) before he earned his pay. Usually before dawn he announced what curing singer must be sent for, or else he himself sucked out the disease object. Some shamans did not suck, "because they did not have it in their dreams." They merely recommended that another shaman be called.

If the specialists he had recommended produced no result, a shaman would diagnose again, without further pay. He might thus recommend several curing singers in succession, and if all failed, the blame was not theirs, but his. That such happenings were not infrequent is evidenced by the Papago slang term for shaman, which is "liar."

THE FEMALE SHAMAN

The myths occasionally mention a female shaman who was powerful and whose magic succeeded where that of her male colleagues had failed. In practice, the writer heard of but few female shamans, and these held a very subordinate position. Denied any connection with shamanism until after childbearing age, women often became herbalists[6] and then drifted into a limited shamanism by means of a vision or two. As with white women doctors, circumstances often pushed them into specializing in children's diseases.

One woman known to the writer practiced a peculiar form of therapy which might have seemed her own idiosyncrasy had it not turned out to be an ancient Aztec practice.[7] This was pressing on

[6] See p. 30. [i.e., read p. 300.—Ed.] [7] Sahagún, Seler, p. 366.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Up there, a mountain.
I like it.
Up there it rises.(13)

10. Much eagle down spreading out;
Much eagle down spreading out.
Let him sing, let him sing, Elder Brother!
Slowly the clouds begin to come.(20)

Sometimes the epidemic or the blight was not full-fledged, but merely a threat. In that case it was known to no one but the shaman. He would warn the keeper of the smoke that some sorcerer had planted a charm near the village. This charm took various forms. It might be *tai* (fire), which would spread underground and shrivel the plants. It might be *hiwonyi* (a tube filled with sickness). To make such a thing, the evil shaman was supposed to take an eagle wing feather and cut off the tip of the quill, making it into a tube. Within he placed "something out of his heart" and buried it in the earth. It would ultimately swell like a seed and sprout, spreading sickness. If it could be pulled up before it had sprouted, danger would be averted. If it were allowed to sprout, the evil would have to be swept up with the thorny branch many times and perhaps unsuccessfully. Then the only remedy was to catch the sorcerer and kill him.

Sometimes a shaman "saw" with his crystal during the cleansing ceremony that such a charm had been planted. Then the regular songs of the ceremony were followed by the sending away songs. But premonition of evil might come to the shaman at any time of the year. Then he informed the keeper of the smoke, who sent for the singers and the ritual speaker. They sat in a circle, with an opening to the east, and sang the sending away songs.

All the songs quoted above could be used, but there were also some which referred definitely to the seeking of the evil charm.

11. Then I stand forth.
The crystal I hold up.
It gives light, and I see.(13)

12. Evening falls.
Then I stand up.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

13

HEALERS OTHER THAN THE SHAMAN

759 THE singers and herb doctors, now to be considered, did not aspire to the dread name "shaman." True, they were called in after diagnosis, and often it was they who performed the cure. Yet they received only the pay given a neighbor who helped with house-building or harvest—a meal and good will for the future. Meantime the shaman might receive a horse or a cow. Yet the shaman went in danger of his life, avoided and feared as a potential sorcerer. The singer, by his activities, brought blessing on himself and on any who helped him.

One would expect an antagonism between the shaman and these intruders in his field. Obviously, their presence would not have been possible had not the Papago admitted several explanations of disease, each carrying with it its own form of cure. Their variety pushed the shaman into the position of diagnostician, where he was able to favor or to ignore the specialists as his "dreams" dictated. Gossip said that the shaman sometimes arranged his diagnosis so as to "throw business" toward his friends, but most informants denied this. "A shaman *had* no friends. People feared him too much." [572]

FOR DISEASE CAUSED BY CEREMONIAL LAPSE

755 Probably the group of healers having least to do with the shaman was that of the ritualists who cured for ceremonial lapse.[1] Usually

[1] Russell says nothing about ceremonial lapse and its cure with the Pima. Nevertheless, he gives instances of curing by both Navitcu (p. 266) and the *vihita* singers or "North People" with their effigies (p. 328*n*).

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the leader of a ceremony rendered this service, since he "owned" the rituals. Illness was thought to have been caused by the ceremony itself, in punishment for some disrespect shown by participants or spectators. The remedy was to repeat the performance, or at least part of it, under correct conditions.

Thus the hunt chief could recite his speeches for one sick from the cleansing ceremony, or a headbearer might dance in deerhead disguise. An enemy slayer could go through his purification ritual for one suffering from touching enemy possessions or bewitched by the scalps. The requirements of the prayer-stick festival being particularly rigid, many ailments were ascribed to lapses at that time. In fact, such lapses were the shaman's last resort in cases of chronic rheumatism, since the mistake might have been so tiny as to have gone for years unremembered. If it was not of too long standing, a cure might be made by the impersonator of Navitcu, by a group of singers, or even by the little boys in snouted masks who started the song.[2]

FOR DISEASE SENT BY ANIMALS

A different group of singers dealt with diseases caused by animals. Almost any creature could send an illness, from the tiny gray spider to the mountain lion. Usually it was in punishment for some form of disrespect, since the animals, who fed and instructed the human race, were jealous of their prerogatives. They took vengeance on those who demolished their burrows or killed them with unnecessary cruelty. Also, they punished anyone who walked across their tracks, wasted their meat, threw their bones about, or subjected any of their remains to the presence of a menstruating woman. Finally, they were offended by laziness or by any conduct improper in the Papago code.

Each had a disease which it wielded as an instrument of vengeance. Though the symptoms were vaguely classified, they some-

[2] The Pima, who do not have the prayer-stick festival, nevertheless use the Navitcu impersonation for curing. The impersonator, called by Russell a "Navitco medicine man," is accompanied by a chorus and by *hakspahom* (equivalent of Papago *hokcpatam*, the little snouted boys). They cure a swelling of the knees (rheumatism?) which is sent by "Navitco an evil spirit adopted from the Papagos." (Russell, p. 266.)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

754 the meeter had heard. There was every opportunity for such adap-
787 tation, for curing songs were not secret, like shaman songs. The
533 performance itself was public, and half the village attended to help with the singing and gain a blessing. One boy of twelve, known to the writer, had already a large repertoire of curing songs and would have found little trouble in "dreaming" more.

Some meeters had only one dream and one song but usually, they went on to a whole series, which might involve several visitants. One(17) who supplied many of the songs quoted, was almost a full-time professional, with a song for every ailment. He had a list of symptoms for each disease, gained, he said, by observation of the people for whom he sang. In fact, every singer was able to give some such list. Some symptoms seemed to be so widely known that when they appeared no diagnostician was called for, but the curing singer came in immediately.

755 The singer was invited by having a little corn meal placed in
754 his hand. He came at sunset and sang or recited all night, with
533a pause at midnight to eat. The one seen by the writer had no fetish, but after each song, he leaned toward the patient so that she could breathe from him. If several singers were present, they took turns, each singing his own songs, while the other singers and the audience helped.

The songs below are from several different singers, arranged so that all those referring to one animal are placed together. The statements of symptoms have been added for what interest they may have, and also the fetish and the musical accompaniment demanded by each singer.[4] The songs "were composed by the animals, telling of their habits, so that people would understand them and not cause annoyance." They might, therefore, be comic or disparaging, as well as poetic or realistic. They were never merely laudatory and never in the form of a prayer. But quite usually they began with the animal's name as a powerful form of invocation.

756 BADGER.—*Symptoms:* swelling, or boils on the neck. *Fetish:* a
753
778

[4] Many of these details may have become standardized in the area, since Russell often quotes similar ones for the Pima (Russell, pp. 262–67).

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

skin of a badger paw stuffed with grass. *Musical instrument:* basket.(17)

2. There is a thundering going along
Above me it is going along.
I fear it.
~~I~~ fear it.
Into my house I go.(20)

BUTTERFLY.—*Symptoms:* diarrhea and sleeping spells in children. *Fetish:* a painted butterfly made of cactus rib. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a knife.(17)

BUZZARD.—*Symptoms:* sores of children; results if a buzzard eats some of a hunter's kill while his wife is pregnant. *Fetish:* buzzard-wing feathers. *Musical instrument:* rattle (sometimes a dance in the formation of a girl's puberty dance).(17)

COW.—*Symptoms:* fever in infants, caused by a man tormenting a cow while his wife is pregnant. *Fetish:* a braided cowtail. *Musical instrument:* a basket rubbed with a knife.(20)

COYOTE.—*Symptoms:* itching. *Fetish:* coyote tail. *Musical instrument:* basket, tapped with hand.(17)

3. Dried cholla
Made into a coyote!
Yonder it ran to meet me,
Coyote-like, howling.(20)

4. Our comrade [Coyote], thirsty,
Just yonder lay down to sleep.
Quail birds
Above him fluttered their wings.
Frightened, he jumped up,
And having looked everywhere:
"Haiya, God, my Father!
Let it rain *now!*"(20)

5. Little gray Coyote!
Indeed, a dirty girdle
You make for yourself, of snakes.(13) [5]

[5] A duplicate of this song is found with the Pima (Russell, p. 304).

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

755 778 753 x539

6. Within the house of the bats
Bats flap their wings
Loudly.
The gray partner [Coyote]
Tries to see them.
He goes running around
And peeping in.(16)

7. Coyote, thirsty,
Ran out of his hole.
Up yonder, at Hackberry Well,
He was running about.
Around the water,
He was running about.
Very cautiously
He began to peep in.(13)

755 778 753 DEER.—*Symptoms:* cough (tuberculosis); attacks hunters who gorge on deer fat, and the immediate remedy is to swallow ashes from the campfire.(22) If the illness is serious, a deer must be killed and eaten without salt. Some placed the deer's head on a pile of sand facing the invalid,(16) or a hunter might take the head, hold it at arm's length, and dance, imitating the deer. Only a hunter can sing the songs, which are the regular deer-hunting cycle. *Fetish:* the deer tail, the basket drum, and the notched stick(17).

FROG.—*Symptoms:* sores on body. *Fetish:* wooden effigy. *Musical instrument:* basket rubbed with stick. (The frog, besides bringing and curing illness, may be invoked for rain.)

x [539]

8. Narrow Mountain upon
A big green frog was hopping.
On the summit a mist
Was lying.(31)

FLY.—*Symptoms:* no symptoms were given. When curing for the fly sickness, take an ember from the fire, rub it between the hands as a fly rubs its legs, chew the powder in the mouth, then put it on the sore. The embers must be black, not red.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

9. The fly children!
Their big hands!
Therewith they rub the embers.(20)

There is a small blue fly who brings rain. The children used to catch it, black its head with soot, say: "Go! Bring rain from my grandmother!"

Deer speaks.

10. The little blue rain fly
Huddled close to my horn tip
is hanging.
Greatly shall I be annoyed.(20)

GILA MONSTER.—*Symptoms:* sore feet; sometimes sores all over, from stepping on the animal. Nursing mothers may lose their milk if he crosses their path. The best remedy is to catch the gila monster, tie a red rag around its neck, and send it away, taking the evil with it. Otherwise the *fetish* is an effigy carved from cactus rib, with red cloth around its neck.(26)

11. A lizard maiden
Was thirsty and crying.
A gila monster ran up
And was comforting her.
The lizard stopped, and then
The gila monster carried her off
And took her to wife.

12. Down I sit;
Songs I begin.
Down I sit;
Songs I begin.
Here around me
All the earth shakes(22).

GOPHER.—*Symptoms:* menstrual cramps, suffered by women who have sat on a gopher hill "and been married by a gopher." *Fetish:* stuffed gopher skin or the image made of clay from a gopher hill. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a stick.(17)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

772
● 755
× 753
[539]

13. The sun is setting;
The land is growing dark.
In all directions [darkness] keeps spreading,
There songs are sounding;
I shall learn and shall sing.(20)

HORSE.—*Symptoms:* insanity. A white man's disease from a [828] white man's animal. The visitant who gives songs to cure it is 755 another white man's importation, the devil.[6] No fetish or instru- 753 ment. The content of these songs, which have very little to do with the devil, is an example of the stereotyped sort of thing which was quite permissible in original "dreamed" material.

753
755
× 539

14. Poor little me!
Around me gather the people.
A devil they think me.
Something the devils make me do.
I mount my horse,
I am going.
I am running about.(12)

15. Far yonder was I running, running.
Far yonder on Cactus Mountains
Was I rúnning.
Thence I saw Mamakumat Mountains.
On them was I running, circling.
Thence I saw Ajo Mountain
On it I was running, somersaulting.
Ceaselessly running!
Devilishly playing!(12)

16. The Hot Springs
Which lie this way,
To them I came.
Thence I saw Twisted Neck Mountain;
Stretching far, I saw it.(12)

17. To a far land I ran.
Oh, it is little devil children!

[6] The Papago word for devil is some approximation to the Spanish *diablo*, usually *djiaul*, or *nyiaul*. The Pima speak of "Nyavolt, an evil spirit, causing a horse to throw his rider" Russell, p. 265. Songs similar to those below are quoted on pp. 329–30.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

753
755
539

There they met me.
They took me.
And westward they led me,
Trying to tell me something.
I could not learn it;
I could not learn it.
They left me.
Then I ran back,
Trying to understand.(12)

18. Now, here I have finished;
Yonder I have been running about,
Yonder, in my old haunt,
A devil is tied.
Thither I ran, and by the ear I took him.
I blindfolded him; he snorted
And blew upon my heart.(12)

753
755
778

HORNED TOAD.—*Symptoms:* sores on feet from stepping on a toad. *Fetish:* wooden image or live toad. After the singing the live toad may be set free with something red tied around its neck as an offering.[1] *Musical instrument:* basket rubbed with a stick.(17 and 25)

[5:9^x

19. A little gray horned toad shaman
Lost his wife;
All over the earth he ran,
Sorrowing.(26)

20. The red ants
Are throwing darkness toward me;
I fear it.
Four times sideways I tilt,
And in yonder direction I run.

OWL.—*Symptoms:* sleepiness and dizziness: "heart-shaking." *Fetish:* tuft of the down from under the owl's wing. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a stick. Some said the owl is the only

[1] Cf. the Isleta custom of tying a piece of yarn around the horned toad's neck and telling it to "go make a mania." Parsons, 1929–30, p. 211*n*. Also Parsons 1929, p. 196*n*.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

sickness for which a woman may sing.[8] "The songs are easy; the others songs would make her insane."(25, 26)

The owl speaks.

21. Just before me
The evening is growing red.
I fly out, and four times
I hoot.(20)

QUAIL.—*Symptoms:* sore eyes. *Fetish:* the quail's top-knot. *Musical instrument:* scratching stick and rasp.(17, 25)

22. Quail children under the bushes
Were chattering.
The comrade [Coyote] heard them.
He ran up, pattering softly,
And stood wiggling his ears in all directions.(20)

RABBIT.—*Symptoms:* convulsions in children, caused by the father killing a rabbit during his wife's pregnancy. *Fetish:* rabbit tail. *Musical instrument:* basket and scraping stick.(25, 26)

23. The sun sets;
The flat land is black.
Here, at the tips of my ears
A narrow [strip of] darkness lies.

ROAD RUNNER.—(chaparral cock) *Symptoms:* sharp pains in the stomach. *Fetish:* a sharp ironwood stick (because the pains are sharp)—.(20) No song recorded.

SNAKE.—*Symptoms:* pain in the abdomen (which seems to twist and wiggle like a snake). Caused, not by snake bite, but by stepping over a snake's track. *Fetish:* a snake carved from a crooked greasewood branch. *Musical instrument:* basket, tapped with a knife.(17)

24. Crazy children
Threw dust in my eyes.
I want to do something for myself.
Four times I breathe deeply.(20)

[8] One who "meets" the owl may also commune with the dead who take owl form. This permits of curing sicknesses caused by the dead. Miss Densmore quotes several songs of this sort. Densmore, pp. 114–34.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

TURTLE.—*Symptoms:* sores on the feet. *Fetish:* a rattle in turtle shape with marking on one side. *Musical instrument:* same as fetish.(25 and 26)

25. A little black turtle,
Just yonder at Pitcikin,
Got drunk.
The girls he ogled.
Trying to talk Mexican,
Trying to talk American.
"See how bright I am!"
Said the turtle.(31)

26. Little black turtle,
Little shaman,
Over there goes crawling, crawling, crawling,
Over there goes crawling.(31)

27. A little black turtle
Toward Badger Well was crawling;
Toward it, squint-eyed, he was looking.
He stood near me,
And twisting up, he looked at me.(26)

28. Little full-bodied turtle,
All alone!
His wife ran away,
Yonder, up Baboquiviri, he climbs,
Trying to look for her.
But he did not find her.
So he fell down and died.(20)

A war song by the turtle when he followed a war party and outstripped them all in valor. *Haiyu* is turtle language. The turtle's bravery is due to his thick back. He can't be killed.

29. *Haiyu, haiyu, haiyu!*
Upon the green rock
A green eagle descended.
Haiyu, haiyu, haiyu, haiyu, haiyu!

Not only animals caused sickness, but plants, winds and undefined mythical beings. A very common one was *pihuri*, spoken

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

to the Mexican plant. Two songs illustrate this aspect of *pihuri*, though they are used for curing sore eyes, just as are the others.

33. The deer is drunk;
The deer is drunk.
Around the great mountain he runs.(20)

34. There is the sotol blossom fallen down;
Toward it I run.
It fell on the leaves of the *pihuri*,
And I run toward it.
It will make us drunk.
In a circle we shall go singing.

There is the sotol blossom fallen down;
Toward it I run.
It fell on the leaves of the *pihuri*,
And I run toward it.
It will make us dizzy.
In a row we shall go singing.(20)

Two other plants take human form and cause hallucinations. One is *Datura meteloides* (jimson weed). The song for it is:

35. Here you brought me to the liquor.
It was very good.
I was very drunk.
Hither you brought me,
And an eagledown headdress you made me.(20)

The other plant is the unidentified *tcĭnacat*,[18] which has here been called lizard weed. For this no song was obtained.

It is possible for sickness to come from almost any phenomenon in nature, depending, perhaps, on the imagination of the shaman. Such illnesses are rare, and the only one mentioned was from the whirlwind. *Symptom:* dizziness. *Musical instrument:* basket and scraping stick.

36. A little gray whirlwind
Is trying to catch me.
Across my path
It keeps whirling.

[18] See the Pima song (Russell, p. 229), where the word is spelled *TCU-Unarsat*.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The most dangerous of all mythical beings were the scalps, the "prisoners"[11] who lived inside a warrior's scalp basket. These might plague their owner's family, his visitors, and even the warrior himself, if he had neglected them. They emerged from their basket in the form of little men, very dirty and fierce, in Apache dress. They peeped through the door at the sufferer, twitched his blanket, and tickled him. If he were their owner, and they had not been fed, they might ask for food or offerings. If he were a visitor in the house, they would frighten him by whistling and swinging to and fro in the basket.

Women suffered more seriously. All lovesickness and sexual malaise were attributed to the scalp mannikins, who were thought to caress women in their sleep and even have intercourse with them. If a man had hallucinations that his wife was unfaithful, it was due to the same cause. The remedy for this was not the war purification songs, but a special set of scalp mannikin songs, dealing with their sexual aspect. These songs were the property of enemy slayers, but in recent years have been learned by others.

SCALP MANNIKIN SONGS

The scalp mannikin sings.

37. "Under the sun's rain house I stood;
My blossoms I strewed and ran."(31)

38. A scalp meeter girl
Comes here,
With lovely flowers;
The scalp children,
Yonder, ran out
All covered with flowers.(20)

39. What did you do to me?
You made a scalp basket.
Lo, you made a house for me,
Thus doing;
Within it you wrapped me.
The sun set,
Then I came out.(20)

[11] Cf. the Pima *tcuvvim*, "an evil spirit exorcised by a strand of Apache hair" (Russell, p. 261). However, *tcuvvim* is the word for smoking and may refer to purification. One song quoted (p. 325) is classed as *kokpU*, which means prisoners.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

755
776
539

40. Red Mountain
Toward the east came forth,
Slowly growing tall.
Then I beneath it
Draw close.(20)

41. Black Mountain
Within the water stands.
Under it monsters shriek.
The water echoes.(20)

42. Under the sunset
A mountain stands.
Under the sunset
A mountain stands.

Toward it we run;
Toward it we run and sing.
Our rattles we are shaking.(20)

43. Revolving,
A rain house stands,
Within it black liquor
I drank.
Many scalp-men
With me drank.
"You are my elder brother!"
Thus they said,
And yonder staggering
Went running.(20)

44. *Haiya, haiya,*
My younger brothers!
Haiya, haiya,
My younger brothers!
The sun above us
Is moving.
Haiya, haiya!
Under it my heart is being destroyed.
What shall I do to you,
My younger brother?(20)

45. Sick from the scalps!
Sick from the scalps!

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

I can do nothing
There, before me he is groaning.
The scalp songs cast light.
Therewith it is ended.(20)

Lovesickness in men might also be due to the scalp mannikins and might be cured by the scalp songs. But it was more often attributed to the light women who filled the role of courtesans or prostitutes. As a fetish a little clay figure of a woman was made, or of a man and a woman. The curing songs were the songs of the light women which were sung at the drinking festival. One was quoted as being used especially for lovesickness. It was sung without musical accompaniment, by anyone who knew it.

Addressed by a man to the light woman who takes him to dance.

46. Women surround me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.(31)

47. Yonder toward the west I run;
Running, I sing.
A man I see who is carrying a woman.
He takes me with him.
My heart glows blazing.(31)

Eagle and salt sicknesses were less common. The eagle sickness generally showed itself in nosebleed or in lice. It resulted from the breaking of a taboo connected with eagle killing and could be cured only by an eagle killer, using his tuft of down as a fetish.[12]

THE HERB DOCTOR

In addition to the singers, we should list one practitioner who had not necessarily any connection with the supernatural. This was the herb doctor. In one sense, every housewife in Papagueria was a herb doctor for as a by-product of her food gathering she

[12] A similar treatment among the Pima is indicated by Russell, pp. 263 (eagle and hawk), 269, 335.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

collected and kept on hand such simple remedies as greasewood for colds and a leaf called "buzzard's mother" for infant diarrhea. Women exchanged lore about these old wives' remedies among themselves and rarely called in an outside practitioner until disease grew serious. Some rarer and much-desired herbs had to be brought from Mexico or from Mt. Baboquiviri, where running water produced an exotic tropical vegetation. There were men and even women who made a living out of picking and drying such herbs and then peddling them around the country. Such "doctors" even prescribed on occasion, as a modern pharmacist might do if the malady were a simple one. Their trade, however, was in the same class as food peddling and involved no vision. When serious illness was in question, the patient called a shaman.[10]

This legitimate practitioner, however, might supplement his blowing and sucking by an herbal remedy, "if he saw it in his dream."(4) Today this practice is gaining more and more hold. A shaman of the writer's acquaintance frequently "saw" herbal laxatives—even quinine and aspirin—obtained from the government hospital. Though the directions which he followed might have been read to him from the bottle, he explained that he later dreamed them all over again, thus making them valid for *his* patients.

Curing singers of all sorts still do a thriving business on the reservation, as do herb doctors. Among them, there are government school products and church members. They seem to be employed by all classes of Papago, even when the government doctor and hospital are also used.

[10] For Pima herb doctors see Russell, p. 257.

[p. 302 is blank]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

727 783 721 778 [755] [828]

informal priesthood. Finally he was given the scalp, enclosed in a special ceremonial basket, like those which held the village arcana.

It was for this final reward that men really went to war. The safety of the village and the fact that a scalp brought it rain were stressed in speeches and were certainly the motive for a war party being ordered. But the individual had a definite emolument when he procured this trophy which would bring him luck ever afterward and which was a definite source of material income. The presence of the scalp and the songs learned during purification cured the scalp sickness which meant any nervous disorder or sexual excitement. Such things were thought to be akin to the madness of war and the warrior who had power over such madness could cure them and thus "feed himself."

His scalp trophy, as the saying was: "worked for him like a relative." The interpretation of his relationship with it was that he had taken it into his family. He now had to "feed" it with tobacco and eagle down, and, according to some, talk frequently to it, telling it his plans. It would reciprocate, as relatives did with that which it had to give, *i. e.* power in war and general good luck. But if he neglected it, the gift would not be made: the scalp would cease to be a relative and would do him harm just as it did to the uninitiated.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"Work hard," they were told, "and the magic serpent will come and show you designs for baskets." An informant had this experience, though she did not see the serpent.

"When I am making baskets, I hear a voice speaking to me. 'Put a cactus here. Put a turtle there. There, put a Gila monster.'" (26)

Women might acquire curing and, in the old days, rain-making powers after the menopause.

Some light is thrown on the psychological function of the dream by the experience of a woman informant which would seem to be typical. She had all her life observed a practice of midwives: pushing up the baby's palate to produce closure of the fontanelle (see p. 89). This appears to be an old Aztec practice.[1] Although the action was perfectly simple, the informant had never attempted it but in old age she took to dreaming. In one dream the Virgin Mary "and another lady" came and took her through a typically Papago visit to four pools, each guarded by a turquoise and each with a baby's head in it. The Visitants showed her how to spit on a shaman's crystal and touch the fontanelle, which then closed. When she awoke, she knew she could cure the baby's disease. She had no crystal but she did not trouble about it nor about the rest of the ritual. She proceeded to cure babies by pushing up the palate as she had seen others do. All she needed was the dream validation (26).

The Papago dream experience takes its place as a local version of the Guardian Spirit idea which is, in essence, a proclamation of the ability of the individual to attain eminence, regardless of his hereditary status. Such an idea is held both to east and west of the Papago, in varying forms.

The River Yumans, to the west, believed that power-bringing visions came by chance, in natural sleep, and, though an individual's whole success in life depended upon his dreams, he was powerless to induce them. Stated in modern terms, this reflects a belief in the innate superiority, perhaps also superior luck, of certain individuals. The subject of the dream was not an animal, as with the Papago, but a mountain or a supernatural being; sometimes merely a prophetic experience.[2]

On the Plains to the east, the vision was induced by efforts of the recipient, demanding a will power would see him through repeated

[1] Sahagun, Seler, pt. 9, sec. 8, p. 366.

[2] Kroeber, 1925, p. 754; Spier, 1933, p. 236; Gifford, 1933, pp. 303—4; Forde, 1931, pp. 182, 183, 189, 190.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

775 on its journey must pass through a gap, which was very dangerous.[1] His owl companions went through it easily but the newly dead had trouble. Some turned back at this point and found themselves alive again. Beyond the gap is the town where the dead live, just as people on earth do. If the newly dead mingles with them and speaks to them, he cannot come back. If he does not speak, he may still regain life. In the town he will find his ancestors who "bring him up like a child," teaching him all their ways. The life is like the life on earth, except that there is plenty of rain, for this is in the east, whence the rain comes.

The dead can leave this land at any time and fly back in a moment in the form of owls and they come thus to call the relatives whom they wish to have as companions. Warriors killed in the Apache country meet war parties and guide them through the enemy's land. Shamans come back and instruct living shamans.

● 755 775 If a person is being called by the dead, he may dream of them or he may fall unconscious, his soul gone. He then applies to the shaman, but the shaman does not send his own soul on a search. He sharpens four sticks, paints them and puts them outside the grave to "shut the door." Or he smokes a ceremonial cigarette and asks the dead to come out. An owl may appear and then the shaman urges him to go away and leave the living alone. Meanwhile a group of helpers, some distance off, sings the song cycle which removes an evil charm.

551 184 The California objection to naming the dead appears among the Papagos in a modified form. In the northern part of the area, the names are freely used; (26, 19, 1) in the southern part they are not (9). The mention of the name would evoke the dead who would bring sickness on his kin. Therefore, the kin themselves would not do it, and if a mysterious sickness appeared among them, they would suspect that someone else had done it and be angry. A subsidiary reason given is that the name "makes them feel too bad" (9).

551 But it is only the relatives who would suffer. An informant once was prevented from singing me a song, where a specific name should be mentioned, because all the people whose names he had heard used in such songs were dead and if he used them, their relatives would be angry. Nor would he use the names of his own relatives. But the interpreter, who had abandoned the old customs, gave permission for the names of his ancestors to be used and then the informant had no fear.

If the name is not used, the dead is referred to by the kinship

[1] Compare, Aztecs, Sahagun, Seler, pt. 6, sec. 4, p. 303.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

out in the desert, running, he would drop and lie for an hour or two. Sometimes it happened two or three times between one full moon and another. 159x 756

When it began happening my father and mother called in a medicine man to find out what was the matter. The medicine man only looked at him and blew smoke over him. Then he said: "Let him alone. He is all right. He is learning." So my father and mother were glad. My grandfather had been a medicine man. He had said when he was dying that none of his children would dream as he had but that his grandchildren would. And they did. Yes, I, too. After that we would hear my brother singing at night when we were all lying on our mats. He never told us where he got his songs. But we knew that, when he was dead like that, he met some animal and the animal taught him. Sometimes when a medicine man was singing in our house, my little brother sang with him.

Many medicine men used to come to our house, for we were often sick. In the hungry time before the rains, it used to happen to us. Once, when I was little, we had the owl sickness. My father, my mother, my brothers, and sisters, and I all had it together. We felt sleepy and dizzy and as if [753] our hearts were shaking. We knew it came from the owl, because it always does, but we sent for the medicine man to make sure. Do you do the same?

He came in the evening and my father had tobacco ready for him. He 159x sat and talked for a little while, gossiping about his family, and my father 755 and mother talked with him while we children lay on our sleeping mats. Then he began to sing. It was dark except for the fire and I could just see the rattle going to and fro in his right hand, the way a dog switches its tail. To and fro for the first two songs, up and down for the second two. You cannot tell what a medicine man sings. He sings his dreams and he sings them in a voice that is not like a man's. It takes him many years to learn that strange voice. But at the fourth song sometimes he sings real words and you know what animal came to visit him and taught him.

After the fourth song he smoked a cigarette made in a joint of reed long as my hand, as old cigarettes used to be. He put his hand on our bodies while he smoked to feel the sickness, and he listened and looked out in the dark. I was not frightened when he put his hand on me. My mother had said to me beforehand: "The medicine man will do what he knows and you must not be scared." So I went to sleep.

But my father and mother sang with him all night. He sang one song so often that they learned it. And my little brother sang, too. After every fourth song he smoked a whole cigarette.

Then he took out the crystals which he had to see by. Those are crystals 159x which a man keeps inside his breast. They are little shining things, as long 766 787 826

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

as a finger joint but they cast light like a fire. Some medicine men dream where to find them and they go out in the bare mountains and see them lying there, burning in the sun. Then they swallow them and keep them safe in their hearts. But some men never have to find them. Their crystals grow inside them as a worm can grow. Even if you suck it out, still it grows again. Those are the men who have great power.

Our medicine man had crystals which he had picked up, but he told my father that when he swallowed them, they leaped into his mouth out of his hand and went down his throat like water. He never took them out again because he could see even while they were in his body. While he was sitting there in the house he could see things going on outside and inside, too. Even if someone was coming far away, he could see. At dawn he said to my father: "It's this way. The owls are making you sick."

My father gave him a heifer because we always paid the medicine men well, and then we had to sing away the owls. When an animal is making you sick like that, you sing many songs about him to make him feel better. Any kind of songs. Songs that make you laugh and songs that tell where he lives and songs that say mean things about him. The animal does not care. He likes to be sung about.

People had to be sent for who had dreamed of owls, because that is how all songs come, by dreaming. Owl songs are pretty and even women can dream them. Many owl singers came to our house, and all the neighbors crowded in to listen:

Evening is growing red.
Straight above me the color spreads out
In all directions.
I fly out and hoot at it
Four times.

I learned that song. Later on I dreamed of owls, too. When they sang I felt very peaceful; I knew things would be all right. The singers brushed me off with owl feathers and I went to sleep. At midnight my mother gave them a big meal of succotash and at dawn they went away. In two days we were well.

I used to try to sing owl songs after that. It seemed to me that I was always just going to dream about an owl. But I am not sure if I did.

Every winter there was singing in our house. We had the deer sickness, which makes you swell, and Hit-with-the-Heel came to sing the deer songs. Or we had the turtle sickness which makes you sore, or someone stepped over a snake and we had the snake sickness which makes you vomit. I

know those songs. Many nights I lay on my mat, hearing them each one four times, eight times, sixteen times. Some women are thinking only of baskets and they do not remember such things. But I remember.

Once I got sick myself. It was from my father's scalps, they said. My father had been a Slayer three times by then and in our house there was a basket with four Apache dolls. Prisoners, we call them. My father would send us all out of the house, and he would take down that basket and talk to them. "Now, my children, I am going to give you tobacco. Now, my children, here is a little food for you." Then he would give them some of the good squash we had just taken from our field.

But somehow he must have angered them, so that they felt they were not treated well. Those Prisoners are very wild. They come out of their basket like little men and run about the house at night. It happens even if you do not make them into dolls as my father's guardian did; even if you simply lay the hair in a basket. They come like handsome men and lie beside women and make them sick. They pinch you and pull your hair at night, or they swing up and down in their basket and whistle. Sometimes a man comes home to see a handsome young man coming out of his house. He goes in angry to his wife, and she says there has been no one there. It was the scalp. Then the owner must give it eagle feathers and speak kindly to it. These Prisoners are dangerous.

They did not come like a man to me, but my head ached, I vomited. I ached all over. The medicine man sang and smoked all night, and then he said: "It's the Prisoners."

The only thing to do was for men who had taken scalps to come and sing for me the songs they had dreamed when they were being purified. There were four Slayers in our village. They were Spider Hole, Squirrel Ear, Yellow Legs, and one had just a Mexican name, José.

They came in the evening. My sleeping mat was moved up close to the fire and they sat around me. Each had four down feathers from under the tail of an eagle fastened to a little stick. That is one of the most sacred things we have, those eagle down feathers, because they bring the rain; they almost *are* the rain. All men who have Prisoners have those feathers to keep their Prisoners quiet.

They took their feathers out of little deerskin bags, and then took gourd rattles in their right hands. I like to hear a gourd rattle; it makes me want to dance. But it cures the sick, too. It is a great thing.

First Spider Hole rattled, and sang four songs that had come to him in his loneliness after he had killed an enemy. Then he blew over me and he cleaned me with the eagle's feathers, brushing them over me. Then all the

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

others blew and cleaned me, too. Then Squirrel Ear sang four songs and then they brushed again. I went to sleep. But they sang and cleansed me all night and my father smoked and sang with them, because he was an Enemy Slayer. Women must not sing those songs, so my mother sat and listened, and at midnight she brought them beans and succotash. They sang the last song at dawn and then they went away.

I began to feel better as soon as they started singing. I had not slept for two days, but I slept that night. In two days I was well.

But I used to dream after that. Sometimes I would think I saw the little men, the Prisoners, climbing down the house posts out of their basket and looking at me. They would point to their mouths and ask for food because, perhaps, my father had not fed them enough. Sometimes, when I was in the desert digging roots, I would see the centipedes and the little red spiders talking together, planning how to make rain. Just after daybreak I would see a coyote darting past the house and I would know he had come to see me.

I knew all about Coyote and the things he can do, because my father told us the stories about how the world began and how Coyote helped our Creator, Elder Brother, to set things in order. Only some men know these stories, but my father was one of them. On winter nights, when we had finished our gruel or rabbit stew and lay back on our mats, my brothers would say to him: "My father, tell us something."

My father would lie quietly upon his mat with my mother beside him and the baby between them. At last he would start slowly to tell us about how the world began. This is a story that can be told only in winter when there are no snakes about, for if the snakes heard they would crawl in and bite you. But in winter when snakes are asleep, we tell these things. Our story about the world is full of songs, and when the neighbors heard my father singing they would open our door and step in over the high threshold. Family by family they came, and we made a big fire and kept the door shut against the cold night. When my father finished a sentence we would all say the last word after him. If anyone went to sleep he would stop. He would not speak any more. But we did not go to sleep.

My father's story told us all about why we hold our big feasts, because Elder Brother showed us how in the beginning of the world. My father went to those feasts and he took us, too, because my father was a song maker and he had visions even if he was not a medicine man. He always made a song for the big harvest festival, the one that keeps the world going right and that only comes every four years.

We all went then, from all over our country to the Place of the Burnt Seeds. We camped together, many, many families together, and we made

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

images of the beautiful things that make life good for the Desert People, like clouds and corn and squash and deer. The men sang about those things and my father made songs. When I was about eight years old, my father once made an image of a mountain out of cactus ribs covered with white cloth. He had dreamed about that mountain and this is the song he made:

159x 796 [633]

There is a white shell mountain in the ocean
Rising half out of the water.
Green scum floats on the water
And the mountain turns around.

The song is very short because we understand so much. We can understand how tall and white the mountain was, and that white shell is something precious, such as the handsome men of old used to have for their necklaces, and it would shine all across the earth as they walked. We understand that as that mountain turns, it draws the clouds and the birds until they all float around it. All those things my father told me when he used to sing that song in our house. I did not understand, though, when I was a little girl and went to the harvest festival. I was afraid of the singers with their masks. There were clowns with masks, too, white masks with little holes for eyes. The clowns bless people, and one put his hand out to bless me, but I ducked under it and ran. [293]

Only afterward I used to dream of the white clown. Perhaps it was because some day I was going to marry one. It may be, for I have magic dreams. I am one who understands things. [787]

When we came home that year there was sickness at Mesquite Root. It was a bad sickness that came to everybody in the whole village, sent by an evil medicine man. We all had it: my father, my mother, all my brothers and sisters. The singers gathered in the big house and sang. You understand now that our way to cure everything and to take care of everything, is to sing.

159x 755

Then the medicine men took branches of a kind of cholla cactus. Oh, very thorny that cactus is, covered with white thorns, and people say they jump out at you and catch you, so hard they stick. Everything in the world sticks to that cactus, so we say the sickness will stick to it, too. The medicine men went with their branches into every house, gathering up the sickness on those thorns. I remember, because I was not so sick as the others, how little boys came after them, making fun of them and waving greasewood branches. But we do not mind those things. We know the children do not understand. They took the sickness away and buried it at the north of the village. [255]

My little brother sang a great deal in the house after those things hap-

159x 756

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

That coyote rose up and said: "Do you want to see something?" "Yes." My husband died right there and the coyote carried him away.

The other men wanted to go home and they said: "Where is he?" But the leader knew about these things. "He must have Met something. Let him alone."

Next morning my husband awoke and found himself lying by that dead coyote. He went back to the others but he never told them what he had seen.

Only after that he used to go out at night and Meet the coyotes. He would leave early in the evening and come back looking sick or drunk. The coyotes had killed him and taught him while he was dead. He did not tell us this in the house, but we all understood. The same thing was happening to his two brothers and had happened to his father before him. It was coyote who Met them all.

After a while the people began to know that he had something. They would ask him to come and find their sicknesses for them, because people have great faith in a young medicine man. They think he has more power than an old one; he has not used it up. My husband had got himself a gourd rattle and some eagle feathers. We get our gourds down in Mexico where they grow them large and beautiful. He glued a handle on one with some mesquite gum and put some pebbles inside; nice little pebbles that you find in the wash among the ants. He got eagle feathers from an old man and tied them on a handle, four of them, tied two and two, beautifully wound about with string. He went to the houses and sat all night, rattling the gourd and singing, and they gave him clothes and food. We got rich.

Six children I had by my husband, for he was a strong man. I never had any trouble in childbirth. And I could tell what sex they would be before they were born. If the movement in my womb were strong, it would be a boy. I had five boys. I was unlucky with them, though. As soon as a new one came, the one before it died. I know a great deal about children, now that I am old, and I think it was the milk. We nurse our children till long after they can walk and talk. We must. We have no cow's milk. What would they eat? But my husband was such a strong man. The children came so fast. I was always nursing one while another was coming, and then the nursing one died.

Perhaps, though, it was only diseases that came by bad luck. That is what my husband said. He treated our children; they were among the first he sang for. One had jackrabbit sickness, which is a sort of coughing and choking that comes to a child so it cannot breathe. Another had dog sickness. I suppose a dog must have breathed on me with its hot breath before the

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936

NU28 Papago NU28

child was born, because the baby had hot breath for days and days before it died.

I always knew when my children were to die. I am one who knows things, because, even though they took my crystals out, there was always something in me. Once, when my baby was sick, I dreamed that I was passing through a wash. A woman sat there with a child, and its hair was blowing back as though it was in the water, only the wash was dry. I said: "What are you doing here?" "We live here." I knew that meant something strange was coming.

Another time I dreamed that someone who seemed a medicine man again led me to a wash. It was full of babies and children, big and little, all crawling around over each other, like worms. "What does it mean?" I asked that man who took me. "It means all your children are going to die. You will have no children at your house."

But I saved one child, a girl. I gave her to my mother to nurse, because an old woman can nurse with us, as well as young ones. That girl grew up. She used to sit on my head when I was running along with the carrying basket, sometimes with another baby on top of it. I took her out to the hills with me when I was gathering fruit and cactus.

"Never step over a snake," I told her, "nor even the trail of a snake for you will have the vomiting sickness. Don't step on a horned toad, it will make you foot sore. And you must learn the difference between the big ants who are the medicine men and who sting and the little kind ants that will not hurt you."

When all our family camped for days and days, to bake the cholla buds, we made a little enclosure of boughs for our children. "Stay there and do not play hard. You will be thirsty and drink up our water." So they made dolls out of leaves and played at grinding corn with sand and little flat stones. Sometimes the children brought us something to eat. In the Month of Rain, when the birds got their feathers wet in the thunder storms so they hopped along the ground and could not fly, then our children would chase them and catch them in their hands. Doves and woodpeckers they brought in to us, and we roasted them on a spit with the feathers on.

We like children, you know. We talk to them quietly and tell them what to do, but we do not scold. When our children are running about the house, in and around everything, we let them run. If they break something, then that thing is just broken. We do not say anything. Sometimes they run across the circle when we are dancing. Or when the medicine man is going about with his branch of thorns, removing sickness, they might try to grab it. No one would speak about that. We like them to be happy.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

gerous," he said. "That rabbit had eaten a magic root. It was driving her mad, because she is one who has dreams. It is easy to make her wild. If I had not come to stop it, she might have killed one of you." It is true, I was looking at our pot stones, thinking of taking one up and throwing it. 159x 766

But we only stayed in Tucson in the winter. In summer, we came back to Standing Rock and made cider and planted corn like other people. But I did not get used to Standing Rock as I had to Where the Water Whirls Around. I used to like to go back to Mesquite Root to visit. 159x

Once when I was there, a sickness came. We called it the falling hair sickness, and no one could cure it because it came from the Whites. It spread all over the country, as far as the River People. The medicine men went round with the thorny branch and tried to carry it out, but they could not catch it. In Mesquite Root, we buried a child every morning and another every night. I was glad I had no children but my daughter, and she was grown up then. But I got sick myself.

Very sick I was, half dead. Then, as I lay on the floor in my father's house, it seemed to me that two women came. One was a dead relative of mine and one was the Virgin Mary whom I had seen in the Catholic church in Tucson. They said to me: "You're sick, but get up. We want to show you something." They took me by either arm to a house like a church. They showed me a holy picture and a rope reaching to it. "Pull yourself up!" I started to do it. "Don't look down." But I looked down and I fell back into bed. They said: "If you had gone up, you would have been cured and would have known something. But we will take you elsewhere." 159x 787

They took me to a square hole, wide as my arm to the elbow, and with just a little water in it. At each corner was a candle, but they were not candles, they were the blue stones which we think have magic power. That hole with the water in it, was all blue inside. Out of it peeped a baby's head, and I saw that the soft spot on the top of the head was moving.

That is the soft spot that makes babies sick. It is very soft when they are born and it ought to grow hard. But sometimes it does not and then the baby will not nurse. I had seen babies like that brought to my first husband, so now I looked, but I did not dare touch that baby I saw.

The women said: "Take your crystal, suck it and spit on the baby." I did it and the soft place stopped moving. Then it grew hard and it was healed. We moved around the water. At each corner we stopped, I saw the baby, and I spit on it again. So I learned how to cure.

When I got well, I began to cure babies. But no! I did not spit on them. That was a dream to give me power. I did what I had seen my husband do; pushed up inside their mouths to push up the soft spot. That is a good way; 159x 755

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

it always succeeds. You see, the women had told me to spit on a crystal but I had no crystal. I did what I knew, and because of the power of that dream, I could cure.

The man who is now our chief was brought to me, all the way from the Burnt Seeds. He had not nursed for two days; he was starving; his jaws were stiff. I rubbed his jaws with warm ashes and then pushed up the back of his head. Next day he nursed. His parents were so glad; they wanted to go home then. But I said: "Stay another night. You will shake the soft place loose again." So they stayed. That baby got well, and they gave me a big, a very big willow basket and a length of muslin. Whenever I went long after to the Burnt Seeds to drink cactus wine, his mother would say to that young man: "Will you not make a gift to your father's relative? She saved your life."

Once, after I had begun to cure like that, I found a crystal. I looked down at my feet when I was fetching water, and there it lay. But I did not know if a woman should have a crystal; I gave it to my husband. He used to carry it around in his pouch, even though he was not a medicine man. But once he went to the rain-drinking at the Burnt Seeds and someone stole it.

This husband was a singer. I have told you how he sang for the maidens' dances. Many, many songs he knew. I used to hear him singing all the time as he sat on his mattress in the evening. He was a clever man, too, a man who could think and count. He had a long stick of cactus rib, and on it he had kept the history of our desert people. He began it when he was ten years old, long before I was born.

There was a great battle in Mexico, then, between our people and the Mexicans. Our people gathered all their women and their cattle into a big fort, on Elder Brother's mountain, and they tried to keep the Mexicans away. But they could not. They were conquered. We call that "the year the world went wrong." My husband was frightened in that year; he a little boy and hearing of all those people dead. So he got a long stick and made a mark on it, to remember. Every year, after that, he made a mark and some strange figure in blue or red to tell what had happened that year.

All our people used to come to hear that history, and he would sit on his mattress, blinking his eyes, for he was already getting blind. He would put his thumb on a mark and tell them all that had happened that year with the names of the people who ran in the races and who made the dancing songs, and what nicknames were given. All the way from one end of the stick to the other, he would go and never forget. While I lived with him, those marks stretched farther and farther down the stick.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

He put his marriage to me on it. When you see the stick, you will find it there. 159x 173

This husband was one of the clowns who makes the people laugh at our great harvest ceremony. The clowns wear masks, you know, great white bags of deerskin, pulled down over their faces with tiny eyes painted on them and just little holes to see through. They talk in a squeaky voice because we think the clown is a magic person who comes from far in the north and talks a language we do not know. So when we went to the harvest festival and I saw the clown, I never knew it was my own husband. 159x 796

He and I always went to the harvest festivals. He was good to me; he took me everywhere. I have been lucky in my husbands; I never had to stay home.

The festival was always at the Narrow Place where Elder Brother told us to have it in the beginning. We all went there with our teams, starting ten days early. We took with us corn meal and grinding stones and plenty of dried food, so we could entertain all our relatives when they came to our camp. There we cut branches and put up little shelters for ourselves, but we did not need much for it was in the month of Pleasant Cold. [514]

All day long our men went away to practise in the big shelter where the singing was to be. We heard their songs floating over to us, we women, and we were glad. Of course, we did not go near the shelter. Those songs are for men, they are very sacred things. You cannot ask any Indian woman about the harvest festival. That is a thing from which we keep far away.

But we were happy. We cooked all day long, on the little fires outside our shelters. Always some relative was coming to stand there and smile at us: "My elder sister!" "My younger sister!" "My father's younger sister!" "My mother's older sister!"

When one came who had had some one die since we saw her last, we all stood there and cried in the sunshine, to show her how we all felt together. [765]

In the evening, when we were getting supper ready, the clowns would come running to all the camps squeaking in their sacred voices and holding a basket out for food, to feed the men in the Big House. Then we all gave them food, and we were afraid of them, too, because clowns have much power. Once I put tamales in the clown's basket, and there, under the white blanket that was tied around him, I saw a piece of my husband's trousers. "I'm not going to give you anything more," I said. "I know you now." The other women said I must not speak like that. They were afraid. So I kept on giving him food.

At the festival, my husband cured the sick people. Everybody who feels badly sits in a row at that feast and they call to the clown: 159x 796 755

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

"Cleanse me!" So he comes and blows over them and then they are well.

People used to come to my husband even when we were home again at Standing Rock. Any one who had done wrong at the harvest feast would come to him; those who had danced or sung wrong or, maybe, fallen down when they were carrying some sacred thing. That can make you very sick, perhaps, so that you cannot walk any more.

My husband would put on his white mask, with the big bunch of turkey feathers on top. He kept that mask in a jar, far out in the hills behind our house. You must not keep such things near you. They are too strong. Perhaps you would die from their power. But he would go out all alone and get it, and come back from the north, wearing it. Then he would blow on the people. If they were very sick indeed, he had to have singers to sing the harvest songs and make the harvest feast again for that sick man. That is the way to get well.

When my oldest boy was twelve years old, my brother died, back at Mesquite Root. That was the brother who was a medicine man. He had been well known for a long time. He used to give the white clay to drink to maidens and to babies. Often I have seen him mix it up with owl feathers though no one is supposed to know that is how he does. But there are many medicine men in my family. I know.

My brother had two children and a wife, but all of them died. He could not stop it; I think it was the power of some evil medicine man. Then he himself got sick. A medicine man tried to suck out the sickness but it was too late; he was already spoiled inside. There was no one at Mesquite Root to take care of him now; my mother was very old. So I went back to stay. He lived two months and he taught me many cures. "Now you must stand in my place," he said. And he told all the people: "I am going to die but she will take care of you."

He told me how to cure sick people by rubbing up and down their legs. I can feel if there is a lump inside them and I work it out smooth. Sometimes I give them castor oil. Do you think I did not learn that from my brother? I do not know. I am old and have had many visions. He told me how to put a feather in my mouth, and after that, to spit blood. I can do that, but when I have the blood, I do not throw it away; I swallow it. This is a very mysterious thing. I tell few people that I have such power.

I got the feather in a magic way. I was sitting in the evening in our doorway, waiting for my son to come home from tending the horses. A little bird came and sat above the door and began calling. I did not understand. But at night, when I was asleep, the bird came again, and then, in my dreams, I could understand. He said: "You think I am only a little

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

If, despite all precautions, a Papago becomes sick, he goes to a medicine man to find out what transgression is responsible. Through the use of rock crystals or other ritual apparatus, the medicine man will determine what supernatural force has sent the illness, and he will prescribe the cure. If an animal has been offended, the medicine man will suggest that a singer be summoned, for there is a song or set of songs for placating each of the most dangerous animals.[2] For sickness resulting from sexual thoughts a special set of songs is used in connection with clay figurines having prominent sexual features.[3] Thus the medicine man is primarily a diagnostician, and the singers work the cures; but sometimes the medicine man himself knows the proper songs. Both are always paid for their services. A medicine man may get five or ten dollars for a night's ceremony; singers usually receive only their food. 755

The medicine man can do more than find out the reason for sickness. He can predict human behavior and recommend the proper measures to insure the right behavior of humans and of the nonhuman world. He can foretell the weather; if rain does not come, he determines the cause. In general, he tries to keep evil away from his village and to oversee the welfare of all its people. This is no small responsibility. Nearly every village has a medicine man, and he is a person of prestige and authority. 756

The medicine man's ability is believed to be supernatural power, which is latent in the individual until it is revealed to him in a dream. A dead man may appear to him to explain curing methods, or he may dream a new song. For some time thereafter (perhaps for years) the dreamer may not be entirely sure of his power, and he undergoes certain trials and consults recognized medicine men. The power shows itself in a man's ability to diagnose sickness, to "see through" a sick person's body and find in it the sore place, to determine the cause of the trouble and the proper songs to cure it. When a man becomes certain of his power, he dare not disregard it, or it will turn upon him as a dreadful sickness. He must accept the responsibility and begin to live up to it.

In the old days the medicine man's power was thought to come from I'itoi, the creator and elder brother of the Papago. Today the younger Papago trained in the mission schools may have their doubts about the source of this power, but faith in the medicine man is still firm. Almost all people except those of Sells and a few of the strictest Presbyterian converts seek the medicine man's advice and call in a white doctor only when the shaman's power does not seem to be effective or when it needs supplementation. Occasionally a medicine

2. For examples of these songs and transcriptions of the music see Jane Cheeky, "The Nature and Function of Papago Music" (MS).

3. This rite is seldom used today, for the medicine man now rarely diagnoses a case as "love sickness." (This translation is inaccurate, the Papago say, but they cannot phrase it more exactly in English.)

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

602 854 women will have more supervision over him, particularly if the mother has another child. The men are friendly with the little child but never intimate.

From the beginning the child is strongly aware that these people are relatives. He is taught to use the proper kinship terms and slowly comes to see the lines of authority in the household.

854 857 The Papago baby's contacts with other children begin early if he is not the first child in the household. Small children are occasionally called on to watch the baby or swing him in his cradle. Otherwise youngsters ignore him, but now and then they evince a lively interest in him for a few minutes. They want to handle him and perhaps even to tease him, evidently out of curiosity to see what the baby will do rather than out of malice. The older boys of the household have almost nothing to do with the baby.

When a child begins to walk, he is likely to be intrusted to a play group of children from three to eight years of age, who will see that he does not wander away or hurt himself. The group will probably be of girls, as boys range too far from the house to watch over the baby.

Because the children in the play group to which the toddler is attached are older, they are in a position to exercise authority over the baby, and, thoroughly aware of this, they may try to dictate to the smaller one. If they can persuade him, it is legitimate for them to do so, but, if the baby does not wish to comply, he has only to raise his voice in protest; an adult will intervene at once to remind the children that the baby must be pleased.

OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

854 574 Within a few weeks or even days of his birth, a Papago child will see most of the people of his village, the majority of whom are probably related to him. Interhousehold visiting is not typical of the Papago, but in the course of cooperative work, of gift exchange, and of transmitting news families have rather frequent contacts. The child will also come in contact with the medicine man at birth and curing rites and with people from other villages at fiestas.

755 854 The relationship of the child with the medicine men and singers is not unpleasant. The birth ceremony previously described is simple and contains nothing frightening. The child will probably meet the medicine man next when he or some member of the family is ill. The sick child has nothing to fear from the medicine man, for the shaman never hurts a baby. He may rub or pat his body and suck at his flesh; he will surely blow smoke over him; he may sing and wave eagle feathers over him. Always he urges the little one to sleep and rest. If curing singers are called in, they speak kindly to the sick child and tell him they hope their songs will make him well. The songs prob-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

ably have a relaxing quality, and the baby may be soothed by the monotony of the rattles. The loving attention of his mother or father always by his side, the friendly or even gay talk of all adults present, and the painless treatment of the shaman produce an atmosphere of reassurance. Children are never afraid to go to the medicine man.

Having a small baby seldom keeps a Papago mother at home. She bundles her baby up and takes him with her to every fiesta, where she sits on the sidelines, chats with other young mothers, and watches the dancers. Possibly she takes the child to the home of friends in the village. At night the mother carries him into the church; while she sits on the floor and joins the other women in singing and praying, the baby, rolled in a blanket, lies on the floor beside other sleeping children.

By the time he is two and a half years old, the Papago child loves the color and excitement of the fiesta, where he meets and plays with his small cousins from other villages. He is allowed to run around the dance ground under the watchful eye of his mother, grandmother, or aunt, and one of his sisters may dance with him or teach him to dance with another small child of the opposite sex.

During the fiesta the small child learns of a new danger. He finds that men, perhaps his father and uncles, at times, behave strangely. His female relatives snatch him out of the way and whisper, "Drunk!" in the same tone they use to warn him of ghosts. He learns to run away when drunks lurch near him and to ignore them completely when they accost him; sometimes he witnesses brawls or other violence. By the time he is five, he has probably developed a strong fear of drunkenness, but he views it as something to be expected at a fiesta. He is unconcerned with it as a moral issue. That concern, as discussed in Part III of this study, will come later.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

872 tremely shy with her in the beginning, staring soberly at her when addressed, sitting at his desk without moving, and following the example of others when response is expected of him. He resents any physical contact with the teacher and shrinks away if she leans over to help him or puts a friendly hand on his shoulder. In a fairly short time, however, his shyness decreases; he talks in Papago to the other children in front of the teacher, speaks up when reciting, and sometimes even begs to be "next." When the child relaxes into the fun-loving little person he ordinarily is, he frequently becomes noisy and has to be asked to be quiet. He does so, momentarily at least, and takes the rebuke as a matter of course. Ordinarily he minds the teacher rather well. Little girls spend a good deal of their free time with the teacher, watching her every move with curiosity, trying to talk with her, and always beaming at any attention.

SICKNESS AND HEALTH

753 Long before he is five years old, the Papago child knows and fears sickness.[7]
857 He has already learned that contacts with animals and with ghosts appearing in animal form may make him ill. Now he is taught that his own bad thoughts may also bring sickness (see chap. vi), and he has also learned to fear the power of the "bad" medicine man or witch.

● 755 In time of illness attributed to any of these causes, the child has implicit faith
957 in the "good" medicine man, for the shaman is often someone he knows or even a relative. The youngster has no fear of him, although he does stand in some awe of the medicine man's power to communicate with the terrifying animals and ghosts. During this age period the shaman does not perform over the child any rite similar to the birth or puberty ceremonies, but he becomes a familiar and trusted figure.

857 To the school doctor and nurse, however, the child's reaction is very differ-
759 ent. When he undergoes a physical examination at school each year, he is
609 liable to be very frightened; he does not like to be touched by the white medicine man, and he resents being even partially disrobed. The teacher knows this and tries to fortify him while he is being examined. After several visits of the doctor or nurse,[8] the youngster becomes somewhat accustomed to them and, if not undressed, will submit to examination with no show of nervousness except extreme quiet. He will allow external medicines to be used on him and will take cough syrup, and sometimes he asks the teacher to clean or bandage a sore or cut.

7. For discussion of the health of Papago children see chap. xii.

8. Doctors come to the school once a month, nurses semimonthly.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

pital—quiet, dignified, and uncomplaining even when in acute pain—and remembering his reluctance to give information about his illness, the writer feels that the children responded according to the same pattern. That this attitude is not identical with a lack of concern about health we shall see later when discussing the results of the psychological tests.

When a California faith healer visited the Papago Reservation in 1941, large crowds from all sections came to see her and to be cured by her, in spite of the opposition of the Catholic church. Like Papago medicine men, who do not ask questions but by magic means acquire knowledge about the cause and course of an illness, this woman did not ask for information; the Papagos apparently thought she already knew the history of their illnesses through an inherent supernatural power. Here we get an inkling of the deep-seated difference between Papago reactions and attitudes and those usually found within the area of white culture.

We also see how our knowledge about these people would fall short if we relied only upon direct information. According to such information, all the children who were examined never had been sick or, at least, never had felt sick, though a number of them were known to have been treated by white physicians for various ailments. Therefore, if we wanted to establish, beyond the crude findings of the physical examinations, how far these children are in fact resistant to physical hardships and exposure, we should have to resort to statistical data furnished by the health service and based upon medical observation over a long period. At present this is not possible, since a relatively small part of the Papago population asks for white medical attention. The writer can only say that, during her stay on the Reservation as a field physician, the reported and observed number of school children with acute respiratory disorders and the seasonal incidence of the various childhood diseases impressed her as rather high.

The actual findings about the health of Papago school children are not too encouraging; they are far from the ideal standards of physical health postulated by modern science. Disregarding the tuberculosis suspects, no chronic debilitating diseases were prevalent. But the fact that almost half the children were more or less undernourished and about the same number showed signs of vitamin deficiencies seems ground enough for concern, particularly if we also take into consideration the physical hardships and exposures to which these children normally have to submit. That we cannot count upon an automatic increase of resistance in response to this constant exposure is evident from the high incidence of acute respiratory diseases in Papago children, especially in winter, and from the ravages of contagious childhood diseases like

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU28

work I undertake I may accomplish easily through your power."

Both Papago and Pima regarded tobacco smoke as a purifying agent possessing definite curative properties, and smoking was believed to clear one's mind so that he could think better. The shaman, while singing for a patient to ascertain the cause of illness, paused at regular intervals to smoke and puff it over the patient as a means of cleansing or driving out the causative agent, the idea of prayer also being associated with the smoking. The shaman did not grow tobacco for himself; he either hunted wild tobacco or it was given to him, as the Pimans held their shamans in high regard. A Papago man who had come into contact with the supernatural by killing an enemy or an eagle, or by joining the salt pilgrimage, needed to be purified by a period of segregation and fasting. When this period was ended, older men who had gone through the same experience sang a series of ritual songs. Then each separately approached the novice and blew tobacco smoke over him, this portending success for his future.[9]

Smoking was essential while holding the ceremony for rain, and this was done by shamans, whose special task it was to see that the ceremony was held once a year (see fig. 5). They got together for four days and smoked, and their helpers danced. While smoking, these men searched for rain clouds and called on them to come. It was the office of this class of shamans to make it rain, and rainmaking was not a function of the general population.

[9] Castetter and Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-7.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X539 boy replied, "Yes." Beater Wind took him in front of the house where he had cleared a big circle. He put the boy in the middle of the circle and went over to one side. Then he went back to the boy, took him up, and threw him toward the east. He went again to the boy, took him up, and threw him toward the north. Then he threw the boy toward the west and toward the south. He thought that the boy must be dead and yet he knew that he had not fully killed him. Beater Wind went home and lay down a while. Then he thought he would go back and see if the boy was getting up yet. The boy was "coming to," but lay there, his long hair tangled and filled with sticks or whatever was on the ground. Beater Wind picked him up and carried him to a place where they sat down together.[5]

While they sat there Beater Wind fixed the boy's hair as it was when he arrived. He cut several sticks 4 or 5 inches long and pointed at the end and told the boy to use these instead of his hands in scratching his head or body. Beater Wind put these sticks in the boy's hair and told him that henceforth it would be the custom that if a man killed an enemy he must use one of these sticks until he had gone through a certain manner of purification. (The following acts of Beater Wind were the beginning of a custom which was later called the *Limo* and used throughout the tribe.) Beater Wind took the boy quite a distance from the house and fixed a place where he was to stay four days without food or water. At the end of four days the boy was as though he had been sick for years. On the fifth day Beater Wind came to him with a little food and about one swallow of water. From that day on, for four days, he got about the same amount; then for four days he got about double that quantity of food. This was followed by one more period of four days during which the food was double that in the third period. After each period Beater Wind had the boy bathe and come nearer the house. Beater Wind was doing all this to "straighten out" the boy. While the boy was fasting Beater Wind was thinking all the time, keeping watch of the boy, and seeing that his mind was clearing. At the end of 16 days (four periods of four days each) Beater Wind saw that the boy was going to be all right, so on the seventeenth day he allowed him to enter the house and gave him a full meal.[6]

The boy stayed in Beater Wind's house quite a while and then he decided to go home. Beater Wind said, "All right. I have done what I wanted to do. I have straightened out what I wanted to straighten out in you. It is all right now for you to return and live

[5] Corote said that a speech should be inserted at the point where Beater Wind picks up the boy. He said he had heard the story many times but the speech was always omitted because there was no one present who could give it correctly.

[6] It was said that "ever since this incident it has been the rule that no medicine is strong except that obtained by a severe test of the man himself. If a man gets his medicine around here it will not last long. If he will have a strong medicine he must get it from the ocean or the mountains."

[355]

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

malaria," or "there is miasma in the air" of a certain locality. As Earth Magician sank out of sight Elder Brother seized the feathers on top of his head. The down came off these feathers and Elder Brother, feeling that he had "bad medicine" (a substance filled with potential harm) on his hands, tried to throw it away. He scattered the down to the winds, which carried it everywhere, and sickness became prevalent among the people.

The ills of the Papago may be grouped under four headings: (1) Sickness attributed to the action of "bad medicine men," or those who use their psychic power to evil ends. The nature of these "sicknesses" was not determined. The cure consisted in the overpowering of the "bad medicine" by a "good medicine" that was stronger, the treatment being essentially a conflict between the psychic power put forth by one man with evil intent and that put forth by another man with good intent. (2) Diseases attributed to spirit animals or birds. These were believed to cause functional troubles, such as cough, soreness of the eyes, and digestive derangement. The treatment consisted in the singing of songs imparted to the doctor by the animal or bird that had caused the trouble, the singing usually being attended with some physical treatment, such as stroking with feathers or some other object, which had also been directed by the animal or birds causing the disease. (3) Accidents and injuries. For some injuries a cure was provided by a spirit animal of the sort that produced the injury. Thus the present paper contains songs given by a horse to cure an injury caused by a vicious horse. (Nos. 58–61.) These songs were used by doctors in a manner similar to those given by animals or birds for the cure of organic or functional disorders. (4) Diseases attributed to spirits of the dead. These were nervous disorders and were treated in a manner similar to diseases attributed to birds or animals. The spirits supposed to cause these disorders were spirits of dead Papago as well as those of Apache slain in war. Material remedies were not administered unless the means above described had failed to produce results.

To these ills may be added a "love bewitchment" believed to be produced by the singing of certain songs. This was treated by a medicine man who sang the proper songs. The victim of this "bewitchment" was said to be "crazy" and the treatment was akin to that of a nervous disorder.

In explanation of the first class of ills, enumerated above, it was said that in former times there were "bad medicine men" who spread diseases of various sorts. Hugh Norris, the writer's interpreter at Sells, said that long ago he saw two of these evil men whom everyone feared. Many deaths in a single day were often attributed to their

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533 About two-thirds of the progressions are major seconds and minor thirds.

Similar to the preceding was a song of an old medicine man named Antonio. He sang the song (not transcribed) when "trying to decide what was the matter with the sick person." The words were, "A little black turtle sat cross-legged and the black feathers were like lightning. Red sparks came falling and sprinkling down. The turtle was afraid and moved back, waving his paws round and round."

X 533 As already stated, it was the belief of the Papago that certain diseases were induced either by animals and birds or by spirits of the 155 dead. The *siátikum* (or diagnostician) was familiar with the ailments that were prevalent in the tribe and knew what animal, bird, or class of spirits was supposed to cause each ailment. In every such instance there was a doctor to whom the cause of the ailment had revealed the means of its cure. Songs were so closely identified with the treatment that a *siátikum* might say to a person with sore eyes, "Your trouble is caused by the quail. You had better send for So-and-so who knows the quail songs." If the ailment were not serious it might be cured by the singing of the songs, usually accompanied by a simple procedure such as the stroking of the patient's body with some small object, but if the person were very ill, requiring expert treatment for an entire night, the songs were sung by an assistant of the person who gave the treatment. It was said that the songs could be used without the physical treatment, or the treatment could be used without the songs, but they were commonly used together. These songs were the property of certain men and were the means by which they put forth their psychic power for the healing of the sick. Persons of serious mind might join in the songs when a sick person was being treated. By this means they added their quota of power to that of the doctor. For this service they were rewarded by a share of the feast. Thus there were many persons in the tribe who knew the songs that were sung by the medicine men but they would not sing these songs except when led by the medicine men. If the singers or spectators were disrespectful or inattentive they were stricken with the disease for which the patient was being treated.

As indicated, the chief responsibility rested with the diagnostician, who decided what caused the sickness, and who prescribed the sort of treatment to be given. Thus he might say, "The man is suffering from an Apache spirit; you must send for someone who knows the Koŏp songs." If a long period of singing was not successful the singer told the patient the *siátikum* had been mistaken in the cause of his illness. The *siátikum* was therefore recalled, and after considering the case again, he suggested some other cause and another singer was summoned.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The hunter could not get near enough to shoot the deer. Suddenly it turned into a human being and led the hunter into the ocean. The man was gone a month. One day he returned but he was shy like a deer. Outside the village was an empty house and he went there at night, when everything was quiet. He went there and sang all night. The people asked themselves who could be doing that singing. One night they surrounded the house and a man went in. He saw a deer sitting in one corner and singing. The deer tried to run past him and escape but he said, "Don't try to run away. I do not want to hurt you. I only came to see you." They caught him and took him home. He was very thin, as he had eaten nothing but cactus fruit and other deer food for a whole month. They fed him, and after he got well he told the people that if they wanted to learn his songs they might come to the fireplace (chief's house). Night after night he sat there but no one came.

FIG. 4.—Gourd rattle

Soon afterwards there was a general "gift dance" to get food at a neighboring village and all who took part in the dance were taken ill with coughing, which is now known to be a symptom of the deer sickness. A *siatĭkum* attended one of the dancers and sent for this man who had lived on the food of the deer and returned with the strange new songs. He came and sang his songs, and the singers learned the songs and sang with him, but the sick man did not get any better. The *siatĭkum* was summoned again to see if there were some other cause for the illness. He said that a deer must be killed, skinned, and cut in quarters by an old man known to be expert in the work. He said they must also appoint four expert women to cut up and cook the deer. They must be responsible for every portion of it, even to the smallest particle of blood. Not a bone could be broken, it being required that the carcass be disjointed. If a bone were accidentally broken they must kill another deer. The meat was to be eaten by the singers who were to sing the songs for the treating of the sick. The tail of the deer was taken for use in the treatment, and all the scraps of meat were wrapped and hidden so securely that no dog, coyote, or other animal could ever find them. When this was finished all the sick people were gathered at one place, and a great crowd of spectators and the singers were there. The man who had received the songs led the singing of them and treated the sick people, stroking them with the tail of the deer. They recovered, and ever since that time the songs have been used in treating this sickness. Jose Panco is shown in Plate 15, *a*, treating a patient. In his left hand is the deer tail (pl. 15, *b*) and in his right the gourd rattle (fig. 4) with

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X533 755

which he accompanies his songs. The rattle was obtained by the writer but Panco did not wish to part with the deer tail. On the wooden handle of the rattle are 12 marks, 6 cut in the wood on each side. One mark has been added each year since he began to use the rattle, the last mark being freshly cut and the first ones being dark, as might be expected from 12 years of use. The following group represents only a part of Panco's songs. They were in pairs, each song of the pair having the same melody but the words being different. For convenience they are designated as parts 1 and 2 of the same number. The village mentioned in the first song is that in which the hunter lived and in which the songs originated. The native term "yo'ogam" is literally translated "sandy loam fields."

X533

No. 48. "Sandy Loam Fields" (Catalogue No. 1036)

Recorded by JOSE PANCO

TRANSLATION

Part 1

Sandy Loam Fields, on top of these lands Elder Brother stands and sings.
Over our heads the clouds are seen, downy white feathers gathered in a bunch.

Part 2

After hearing these songs the women gather on Sandy Loam Fields,
Their heads decorated with clouds of feathers.

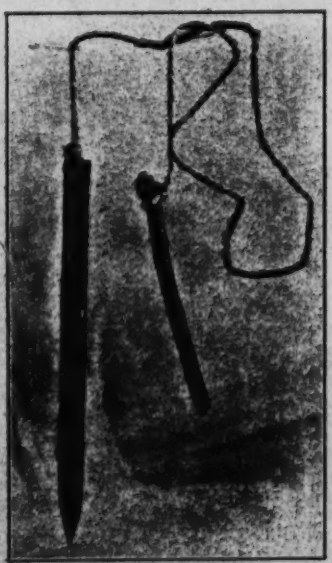
Analysis.—This is a gentle, pleasing melody which would be acceptable to a sick person. It contains a measure in 5-8 time, which occurs in many similar songs. This is the first of six healing songs recorded by Panco, all of which are on the major and minor pentatonic scales (fourth and second five-toned scales).

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

755
534

a, Jose Panco treating sick man

b, Deer tail used by Jose Panco in treating sick man



c, "Bull-roarer" used in Vikita ceremony

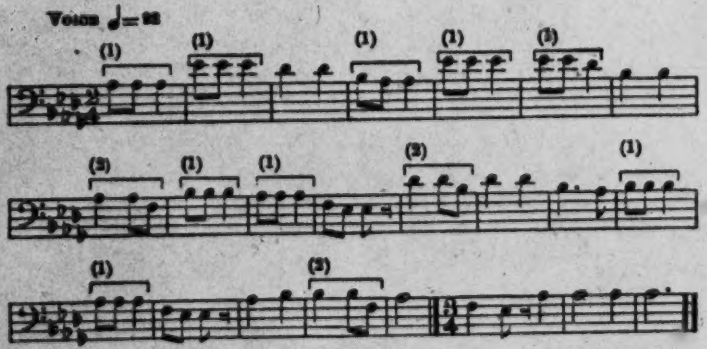
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The Papago had songs for the curing of injuries as well as diseases. The four songs next following were sung to cure an injury caused by a fractious horse. As in other healing songs the remedy was provided by the cause of the difficulty. These songs are attributed to a black horse, which was heard singing them. They are called "devil songs" by the English-speaking Papago, from *javolt*, meaning "devil cactus." The singer (pl. 16, *a*) lives at Sells. He was with the United States cavalry when Geronimo was captured.

No. 58. Song to Cure an Injury by a Horse

(Catalogue No. 1014)

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

The devil's power shines over us now.
We can see it shine on the tail of a black horse and we can also see the shining on the top of every mountain.
We know it will cure you.

Analysis.—An interesting resemblance is noted in these songs, which are the only ones attributed to the horse. They contain an unusually large proportion of quarter notes, with few half or eighth notes and only one sixteenth note. This gives a particularly steady rhythm. All the songs have rhythmic units and contain large ascending progressions which usually comprise one measure. Three of the songs are on the second and fourth five-toned scales. The present song contains more movement than the others and its rhythm is not unlike the galloping of a horse.

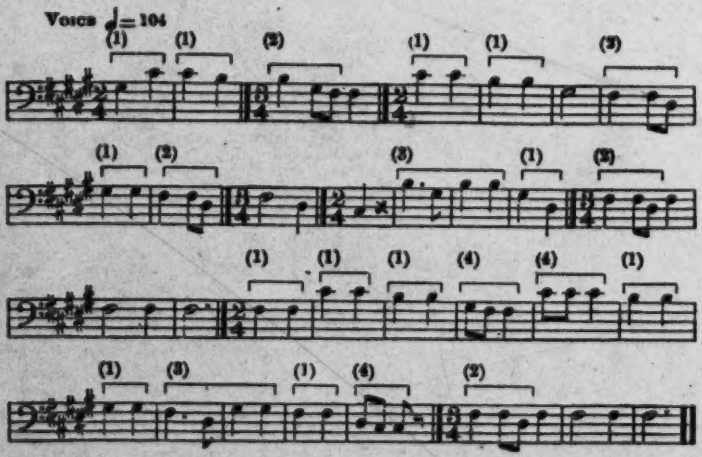
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Analysis.—The general character of this song is plaintive. The phrases contain four measures, except one phrase which is prolonged to a fifth measure. A majority of the notes are quarter notes. The fourth constitutes one-third of the intervals. The ending is similar to others of this group and suggests a question. 533^X

Like the preceding songs, this was sung by a horse, heard by a man in a dream, and used in treating persons injured by horses. [755]

No. 61. Song of a Black Horse (Catalogue No. 1017)

Recorded by JOAN MANUEL



TRANSLATION

I could go and get some of this yellow poppy flower and a sore would come where it touched your hand, but I have some pity for you though you had none for me when I was in your hands.

Analysis.—This song seems to sum up the rhythm of the three preceding songs, yet it has an individual rhythm. Comparison with the preceding songs will show the resemblance of rhythm. About 26 per cent of the intervals are fourths and fifths. The song is based on the fourth five-toned scale but the sixth tone is particularly prominent, giving an effect of minor tonality.

ILLNESSES ATTRIBUTED TO SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

It was the belief of the Papago that illnesses might be caused by the spirits of Apache killed in war, or by the spirits of dead Papago. Songs were given by the spirits for the treatment of these illnesses, which appear to have been nervous in character. 753 715

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

The spirits of dead Apache were believed to cause three sorts of illness: (1) Koŏp, which might affect persons of any age, at any time; (2) Komotan, which affected warriors and unborn children; and (3) Hivicolita, which affected children. The first and second were induced by failure to show respect toward the spirit of the dead Apache and the third frequently attacked the children of warriors who had not undergone the ordeal of purification after killing Apache. Food was taken to the warriors and they were expected to bury any fragments that remained. If one of their children came to the place at a later time, found scraps of food and ate them, the children would develop the Hivicolita sickness. Children who disturbed a "spirit basket" or treated it with disrespect were similarly afflicted. (See pp. 188 and 195.)

The owl is the bird associated with the dead, and owl feathers sometimes taught the songs used in treating this class of diseases, but a majority of the songs, as stated, were received from spirits of the dead. A doctor could give his songs to another if he so desired, or he could transmit the power to treat these diseases and the man could get his songs from some other source. The songs are in groups of four, such a group being called a "rest." The song is sung through twice, then the latter portion is sung twice, while a gourd rattle is shaken. The manner of shaking the rattle depends on the instructions received by the doctor in his dream. For example, some doctors are instructed to "roll" the rattle four times before beginning a song, while others shake the rattle sharply four times before they begin to sing. Garcia, who recorded a majority of the songs in this section, preceded his songs by a continuous "roll" of the rattle. The rhythmic form of these songs is different from that of similar songs among tribes already studied. The words are poetic and do not contain the affirmation which characterized the healing songs of the Chippewa.

The songs of one locality differ from those of another and the place where a song "belongs" or originated is always kept in mind. The first two Koŏp songs here presented (Nos. 62 and 63) and the two Komotan songs are "used back in the country," while the other five Koŏp songs are used in the vicinity of San Xavier. If these songs were sung apart from their proper use they might produce the diseases they were intended to cure. In such a case it was necessary that the man be treated by one who was skillful in the use of songs.

One of the informants related his own experience, saying he knew many of the songs used in treating these classes of diseases and once became so interested in them that he sang them continually. He said that "his head was full of these songs." His father warned him that trouble would result but he continued singing them. After a time he developed the symptoms of the illnesses which were caused by Apache spirits and he suffered greatly until a medicine man came and

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

sang all night, using the treatments peculiar to his own dream. This relieved the young man and he had no return of the trouble.

Before proceeding further it is important to note the manner of keeping an Apache scalp, and the beliefs concerning it. The scalp of a slain Apache was placed in a basket resembling a small packet. The ceremony connected with this placing of the scalp is described in the chapter on war customs. This "scalp basket" or "spirit basket" was kept with great care and offerings of food were given it. So long as this was done the spirit of the dead Apache was said to be satisfied, but if it were not "properly treated and fed" it escaped from the basket and "put poison in the food," causing disease. If the basket was carelessly treated by its owner he would fall ill, and if one of his children disturbed it the child would be seized with illness at a later time.

When a person was "troubled by an Apache spirit" it was customary to use, in the treatment, certain songs given by Apache spirits for that purpose. The same songs were sung in the *Limo*, which followed the return of victorious warriors. Kiyatan, who recorded Komotan songs (pp. 113, 114), said that in a case of Komotan illness a diagnostician would be summoned and usually directed the sick man to send for a doctor who knew the Komotan songs. The singing of these songs would usually cure the man and he would be up in a day or two. If these were not effective the diagnostician was recalled. He would "look inside," say the sickness was still there, and tell the family they must send for a *siâkum*—i. e., a man who had killed and scalped an Apache. This man would bring his "spirit basket" which contained the Apache scalp fastened to a wooden effigy (see p. 195). He would take out the effigy and press it against the man's body, saying, "Cure this man." He also took white clay from the spirit basket, moistened a little of it and applied it to the chest and forehead of the sick person. The diagnostician did not sing, neither did the *siâkum* who "made passes over the sick man's body, stroking it to get the sickness out." If this did not cure it was said the man either had two diseases or a different disease than the Komotan. The diagnostician would then consider the case again and summon another singer. Eagle feathers were commonly used in treatment of this disease, the doctor stroking the sick man's body with them.

As already indicated, the two diseases attributed to Apache spirits were known as Koŏp and Komotan. Both were attributed to careless or disrespectful treatment of a "scalp basket" and the second was the more severe. The Apache spirits were regarded as small, like pygmies. As indicated in a previous paragraph, they stayed in the "scalp basket" if they were properly treated; if not, they came out of the basket and made trouble. In the Koŏp they attacked

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

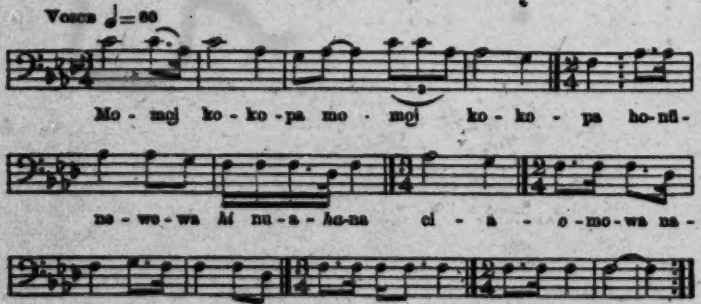
men during dreams and dragged them by a finger or toe. They also "put their little hands on a man's heart and tickle him. This is not so much at first, but if it keeps up a long time it almost drives the man crazy."

The following group of Koŏp songs (except No. 70) were recorded by Sivariano Garcia of San Xavier. He is one of the men who are summoned if a man is believed to be suffering from this disease, and these are some of the songs he uses regularly in treating such cases. He also recorded songs now used in treating sickness caused by spirits of dead Papago. (Nos. 72–94.) The present series comprises two "rests" or groups of four songs each and concerns the journey of a Papago in a dream or vision. He is escorted by the spirit of a dead Apache and is obliged to undergo severe experiences in the course of which he receives the songs he is to use in treating diseases caused by the Apache spirits.

No. 62. "Many Spirits Leading Westward"

(Catalogue No. 910)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



WORDS

Momŏj[12]	kokopa	honŭnewewa	nuăna
Many	spirits	westward	leading
ciămowa ŋakiă[13]	nyŭ	mŏjnak	wangihona
hanging	my	heart	strengthening

Analysis.—This is the first of a group of seven songs which are minor in tonality and, with one exception, end on the keynote. A peculiarity of the present song is the emphasis placed on the submediant, D flat. This has been noted in other songs of minor tonality and gives an effect of seriousness. A further peculiarity of this song is the prominence of the major third, which constitutes

[12] The form of this word used in conversation is nuăĭ.

[13] The idea is that of an object which persists or remains suspended in flight, as a bird.

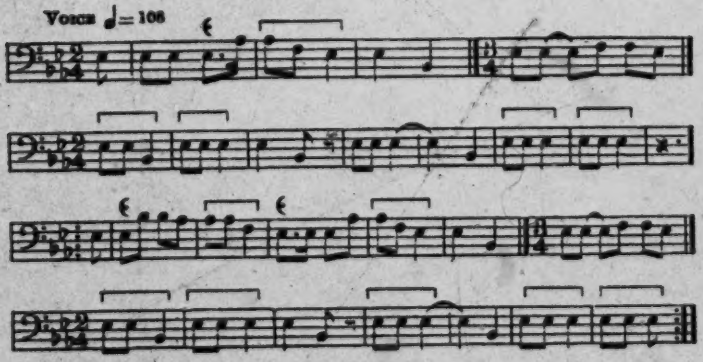
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533 *Analysis.*—This, like the preceding song, is based on the fourth five-toned scale, but the melodies are different in every respect. This song consists of three periods containing four measures each, followed by seven measures in a monotonous style somewhat resembling a chant. The intervals include ten minor thirds and ten whole tones, four of each being upward and six being downward progressions.

[155] The next song was omitted if the medicine woman saw that the person whom she was treating would recover. If, however, she saw that he would die she talked with his relatives, told them that he would not recover, and sang this song.

No. 94. Song of a Medicine Woman on Seeing that a Sick Person will Die
(Catalogue No. 950)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



TRANSLATION

I think I have found out.
I think I have found out.
With the owl songs I have found out and I will return home.

Analysis.—This song is transcribed and analyzed with E flat as the keynote, though the third above that tone does not occur. The most prominent tones are E flat and B flat, the other melody tones being F and A flat. The fourth constitutes 17 of the 30 progressions. The rhythmic unit is short and unimportant. A majority of the phrases are four measures in length, though the song contains one phrase of three and another of five measures.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

in an amusing manner. During the day the processions passed around the outside to the back of the inclosure where the boys and girls, representing the sacrificed children (see p. 138), were stationed. These children were required to stand in one place and dance all day. Behind them was a young man with small rasping sticks who sang special songs. The clowns went around the camp and sat down with one group after another, being unwilling to leave unless they received a gift of food, which they took to persons in the inclosure. Friends of the sick brought them to this ceremony with the belief that any of the clowns could benefit them, as all the clowns were supposed to be medicine men.

The Viikita as observed in the southern part of the reservation shows some differences from the northern custom. The following information was obtained at Vomari village, about 7 miles from the Mexican border. Mattias Hendricks, a Papago chief, said that the Viikita had its origin in the village of Küthowak [22] in Sonora and was given to the people by Elder Brother, also called Montezuma. In the middle of this village there is a spring of water. The people once saw in this spring an animal that they knew belonged in the sea. The animal came out of the spring, lay around, and swallowed a few people. When the inhabitants of the village found that it was a dangerous animal they tried to kill it but could not do so. They sent word to Elder Brother where he lived in Baboquivari Mountain and asked him to come and see if he could save them from danger. When Elder Brother came toward the place he said, "I am going over yonder. You must watch and if you see clouds come up and stay in the sky you will know that I have killed the animal, but if there are no clouds it will mean that he has swallowed me." [22a] Elder Brother sharpened his knife very sharp and put it in his belt.

There is a little mountain on the north side of the village. He went along there and when he was about to turn at the point of the little mountain and could see where the animal lived a wind came and blew him right into the animal's mouth. When he got inside he crawled along and found the animal's heart, and cut its throat from the inside. The animal jumped up and then fell to the ground. When the animal died Elder Brother crawled out and found that the animal had fallen on the shore of the sea. Then clouds appeared where he had predicted and the people knew that he had killed the monster. Afterwards he returned to the village and told them about it. Ever afterwards the day was kept as a thanksgiving festival. Four Viikita songs were recorded at Vomari but no attempt was made to study the ceremony in detail. It was said that two inclosures were

[22] This village is referred to as Quitovequite by Davis in his description of the ceremony. See "The Papago Ceremony of Viikita," by Edward H. Davis, in Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. III, no. 4, published by the Museum of the American Indian, New York, 1920.

[22a] Cf. a similar signal on p. 81.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

726 After these speeches the men gathered up their belongings and went to the place where they camped. Soon after daylight they made the attack.

155 All the medicine men who accompanied a war party carried herbs for the care of the wounded, but used them only if singing and the exercise of "magic" power had failed. In that event a medicine man tried herbs and warm water, washing the wound or administering an herb drink. There was no singing with this treatment. When the man began to improve it was customary to apply a poultice to his wound, consisting of powdered root prepared either with or without water. The medicine man carried his herbs in a buckskin bag.

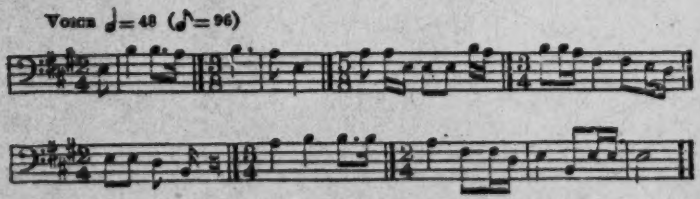
727 A war party returning victorious was always preceded by a herald who reached the village about daybreak. The man chosen for this duty was usually a good singer, but Hugh Norris said his father told of an instance in which the herald could not sing. This man made up a sort of song in which he said that he could not sing but the Papago were victorious, and then he began to yell, which spread the good news quite as effectively.

X 533 The song next following is concerning the man who announces the approach of a victorious war party.

No. 134. "The Voice of the Herald"

(Catalogue No. 1069)

Recorded by JUANA MARIA



TRANSLATION

When the morning starts and the sun comes up.
When the morning starts and the sun comes up.
At that time the voice of the herald sounds sweet.
It seems to be calling to me.

Analysis.—This song is transcribed with A as its keynote, although neither C sharp nor G sharp are present. This tone material is the first five-toned scale, according to Helmholtz's designation of pentatonic scales. Progression is chiefly by fourths and whole tones. The first six measures contain a downward trend of an octave. These are followed by a short rest and an ascending seventh. The rhythm changes and the last four measures have a ring of triumph, as though the herald were announcing a victory. The melody progresses chiefly by fourths and whole tones.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

look upon it as being worth a good deal of money to the one who submits to the operation. His bow and four arrows, the result of much labor, he sold for $1.25. I gave him some tobacco, candy, and raisins, and we separated great friends.

In the afternoon I arrived at a house outside of which an old medicine-man, Castillo, was singing to soothe a patient, a middle-aged, powerful looking man who was lying on his back in front of him. His singing was accompanied by the rasping of two sticks; one end of the notched one he held by his left hand, while the other end rested against an inverted basket, and he drew the rasping stick each time up toward him and then down, the opposite movement to the one which we should use to produce the same result. Near the basket on the ground an effigy of a horned lizard had been placed; it was made of wood and daubed with ochre, its head turned toward the patient.

Some Indians came up smiling as if they wished it to be understood that they did not believe in the performance, for they knew that white men laugh at this. One of them obligingly brought me a basket for sale as well as three small ancient objects, a flint arrow-point, a spinning whorl, and a small perforated stone disk, all threaded on a string. In the meantime the medicine-man, whom I watched from my horse, was finishing his treatment by placing the effigy repeatedly on the patient's leg, breathing and blowing at the same time. The man had a pain in his leg which had been caused by a horned lizard, for, according to Papago beliefs, all animals have

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

753 755 825 755 756

the faculty of making people ill except the deer and the pronghorn antelope. To relieve the illness the doctor had sung a song to the animal, asking it to take the pain away. He then walked into his house; somebody must have told him that I was a *makai* (doctor, medicine-man), for a few minutes later, to my surprise, he brought out his medicine basket, easily recognized by its long shape, and came up to me. We sat down on the ground; he took off the cover and began to unpack the contents of his tray.

753 Many people gathered around us and the sick man half rose from his mat in order to turn around to see who the stranger was. There were many remedies of a similar character to the one just described. Images of certain animals, accompanied by appropriate ceremonies and exhortations, are thought to relieve ailments. Like the native doctor himself, an animal is thought to be able to cause illness as well as to cure. The turtle [825] causes stiffness, the butterfly produces vomiting, and the badger gives backache. The deer makes persons cough, and their voices weak, and may give consumption; but a deer-tail, placed on a stick and manipulated in the proper way by the medicine-man, will cure that illness, for, as Castillo added by way of explanation, "it is not often you see the deer thin." A piece of clay taken from a gopher's burrow is used against excessive menstruation or stomach pain. The sun is apt to give fever, and [821] a patient suffering thus is relieved at sunrise; during the incantations of the doctor a small wooden image of the sun rests on the ground, while the patient faces the east.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

lengthwise, while his legs are daubed in spots, the color being afterward allowed to wear off. At the feast, the numerous clowns perform pranks everywhere; they visit the houses, offer food, and shoot at men disguised as deer. During the dancing they keep in the middle of the dancing place. They neither sing nor talk, though they may do so if requested. If a clown breathes on a sick man, the latter gets well. The mask when not used is kept in the house of the owner, usually in a covered earthen-ware jar. The dignity of the office, which does not imply the necessity of being a medicine-man, is confined to certain families, the father deciding which of his sons is to be the next clown.

On the wall in my lodging-room there was hanging a different kind of mask, neatly made from a gourd, and painted. It is worn by a singer at the same great feast. I also secured this, and during the time spent at Santa Rosa valley I was fortunate enough to make quite a collection of such interesting objects. There are three sections of colors on the singers' masks symbolizing clouds of similar hues. The upper part is painted with red ochre; then comes a black band which is produced by a mixture of sap from the mezquite and oxide of iron; the white band is made with chalk. The zigzags of the red section symbolize clouds, the dots are grains of corn. The designs on the white section denote clouds and lightning. The singers (*viinim*) have the same kind of rattles as the clowns, consisting of a number of the small bags spun by an insect (*attacus orizaba*), with a pebble inside of each, and attached to a band around the ankle.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

handful of pinole, whereupon the salt is spread out to dry. The party next moves down to the sea; going into it up to their knees, each man carries corn-meal in his left hand and, watching for the waves, throws one pinch of it, caught with all fingers, on each of four successive waves. He bends forward when a high one comes lest it might throw him on his back, which is a bad thing as it would make him ill. They do not indulge in any sea bathing, for the ocean is too clean to allow them to soil it, they reverently say.

Toward sunset the salt is gathered in sacks, about one hundred pounds in each, two of these making a load. Great care is taken that no salt be spilled on the road as this would bring about some misfortune. Every one takes back with him a piece of silicious sponge which is found on the beach and which is kept carefully from year to year. This is considered a good remedy for external use. But the leader may take a bite of it, chew it, fill his mouth with water, and spray this through his lips on the men. Members of a salt expedition learn new songs on the trip and they say they dream them while asleep. Among the gifts of the sea may be a beautiful wife, luck in hunting, or swiftness in foot-races. After their return they must stay away from their houses from ten to sixteen days. A good deal of their time is spent in singing to the accompaniment of rasping sticks, and after having taken a bath every fourth day the man is able to join his wife again. According to accounts of fifty years ago* the Papagoes supplied Tucson

*See California Notes, Fourth Series, in *California Farmer*, 1863.

796 During the summer various nights of singing were held to encourage the growth of crops. In the autumn, when deer hunting began, a deer was ceremonially killed and its flesh eaten after a night of singing and dancing to produce health for the people. Every four years—or, in the southern part of the reservation, every year—a harvest ceremony followed the deer dance. At this time elaborate effigies representing clouds, corn, and other good things of life were carried in a procession by masked singers. If illness threatened a village a special night of singing and dancing was held to drive it away.

796 778 The Papagos felt a need not only for food, but for magic power to sustain them through the hardships of life. Such power, they held, might be attained by the performance of three acts, fraught with supernatural mystery: one was the taking of an enemy scalp, one the killing of an eagle, and one the fetching of salt from the barren desert bordering the Gulf of California. After doing any of these things, a man had brought himself in contact with the supernatural. But this was not enough. He must next purify himself by days of fasting. Then a ceremony must be held over him with the singing of Elder Brother's songs, lest his own magic injure him. Any man undergoing purification might have dreams in which some supernatural being would visit him and teach him songs which would help him cure disease, to run swiftly, to fight, or to hunt.

791 787 It was in just such dreams that the medicine man obtained his unusual power, but he must dream longer than the others. For years he did not tell of his constant supernatural experiences but finally began trying his ability, and at last was accepted publicly. This new power did not as a rule enable him to cure; he only "saw" the disease after singing and smoking to bring himself to the clairvoyant state. He then told the waiting family what had caused 755 the illness—the rabbit, the badger, the eagle, some other offended animal, or perhaps the breaking of a ceremonial rule. The cure was homeopathic. Some one must be sent

17:Castetter & Underhill N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

for who had dreamed of badger, rabbit, or eagle, and could sing songs to remove their power. If a rule had been broken, the ceremony must be gone through again beside the sickbed.

The Papagos, it is obvious, believed in the power of songs and dreams to a high degree. But they were not mystics. They were, and still are, a highly practical and industrious people whose days are spent in labor, while their artistic impulse finds its release in the singing of Elder Brother's songs and the composing of new ones to supplement them.

The collection of specimens and study of techniques were done during four visits to the Papago country, extending from July to October, 1931, August to October, 1932, February to October, 1933, and November to December, 1934. These visits were financed by successive grants from Columbia University in connection with a larger ethnographical study.

The authors wish to express their genuine appreciation to Dr. J. J. Thornber and some of his students at the University of Arizona for identifying numerous plant specimens. Special thanks are also due Dr. Thornber for assistance in providing certain information, particularly in connection with the cultivated plants. To Ellen Wright Castetter we are greatly indebted for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

* * * * * *

In the following pages, the Papago words have been spelled according to the recommendations of the Committee of the American Anthropological Association on the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, No. 6).

The vowels *a*, *i*, *o*, *u*, are pronounced roughly as in Spanish or Italian. The vowell *ï* is an unrounded central vowel whose sound approximates that of *i* in English *sir*. *p*, *t*, *k*, at the beginning of a word are pronounced without the aspiration which follows them in English; their sounds

MEDICINAL PLANTS

755 757 Papago medicine men cured by singing, sucking, blowing tobacco smoke, and waving eagle feathers over the patient. However, for ordinary ailments, there were common cures which every family knew, although complicated mixtures were often used by a housewife familiar with her pharmacopeia. This practical knowledge was often in the hands of women who gathered the herbs in season, dried and pounded them in a special mortar.

757 278 The most universal remedy was the creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)*. It was used for stiff limbs, sores, and poisonous bites. Men, after running all day barefoot, would make a fire, and when it had burned out heap creosote branches on the ashes and hold their aching feet in the smoke. Women after childbirth or with menstrual cramps would lie on a bed of such heated branches. For rheumatism, the hot branches were wrapped in a cloth and laid on the joints. In case of a snake, spider, or scorpion bite, creosote leaves were chewed and placed on the swelling. The leaves were also boiled and given to the patient as an emetic.

For sore throat, the root of cañaigrè *(Rumex hymenosepalus)* was pounded and swallowed dry, or a piece of the root might be held in the mouth. The effect was to coat the mucous membrane and make it less sensitive.

The remedy for toothache may have been merely a counter irritant. It was to bite and hold between the teeth either the wild bean *(Phaseolus acutifolius)* or the callous which grows on the branches of mesquite.

COLDS

Mesquite mistletoe, *kui kaap*, leaves boiled and drunk.

SORE THROAT

Cañaigre, *siwitcuris (Rumex hymenosepalus)*, root powdered and eaten.

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

461 794 796 Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for earning money. During the picking season three important religious events occur. These are the feast days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier, and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to one or another, or all three.

795 184 Although several denominations have gained a foothold among the Desert People, the vast majority are orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950 were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly divided between Protestants and individuals consciously rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian church has the largest following among Protestant groups, with six congregations on the reservation. [797] There are other missions on the reservations. However, missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

484 788 790 782 755 776 From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Cuwsk at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint, or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Cuwsk) church. Often the person vows to make four such visits, to place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

78 [776] [778] Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health. Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The Desert People bring statues and pictures from their household shrines and chapels to press against the statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

---

[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.
[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950, 1 had in a previous year.

78 church, to be blessed and taken home to give those who couldn't come. But 9 Papagos out of 10 at one of the pilgrimmage towns in October, 1950, came to fulfill a vow.[1]

484 788 So important are these pilgrimmages to the Desert People that almost three-fifths of the Papagos in the cotton fields in 1950 went to Magdalena, San Xavier or Chuwhiy Cuwsk for the October celebration.[2] In numbers, this apparently meant over 2,500 Papagos traveled from southern Arizona labor camps to one of these three churches.[3] Many more Desert People left their homes on the reserves to make their pilgrimmages, although the proportion was not as high because of the large number of Protestants among those remaining on the reserves during picking season, and lack of money to finance a pilgrimmage. Perhaps another 1,000 individuals made pilgrimmages from the reserves. Almost half the tribe went on the 1950 pilgrimmage.

This religious exodus affected virtually every cotton farm where Papagos worked to some extent.[4] The [153] number of Papago pilgrims at Magdalena in 1950 seemed rather higher than the year before, apparently reflecting greater psychological stress in the tribe, perhaps arising from greater awareness of a critical economic position and unsettled world conditions again threatening young men. A fifth of the 1950 cotton harvesters had made a pilgrimmage in some previous year although they didn't in 1950,[5] indicating the high proportion of pilgrims returning.

Greatest of the 3 celebrations is that held on [155] the day of St. Francis of Assisi, October 4. Pilgrims [178] travel to all three churches where miraculous curing statues of St. Francis Xavier are located—Magdalena, San Xavier, and Chuwhiy Cuwsk.

[361] The largest celebration leading up to the Oct. 4 rites galvanizes the small Mexican city of Magdalena, an adobe settlement located about 60 miles south of the [155] international boundary in Sonora. Many are the stories [178] of cures by its powerful statue, which is supposed to have come to the spot when burros bearing it northward for a procession of friars refused to proceed.

[1] Based on 11 persons giving reasons for their trips.
[2] 23 of 40 individuals giving information made pilgrimmages, 57½.
[3] There were about 1,600 families with 4,800 Papagos in labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties in 1950.
[4] 9 of 10 farmers in Pima county and 10 of 10 in Pinal giving information lost some Papago workers.
[5] 4 of 19 giving information, 20%.

intoxicating drink, but smoking and gambling are so common among them that they will even stake their clothing on races, either by man or horses, and on the simple games with which they are familiar. The Papagos are not addicted to

RELIGION.—The Papagos are nominally Catholics. Adults and children wear crosses and charms. They believe in witches and evil spirits, and buy charms to insure good luck.

At the little village of Ki-li-wah, where there are a number of returned scholars, it was said that a simple service was held by these "graduates", in which they explained on Sundays the things they had learned about the white men's religion. At the village called Gunsight 2 Mormons have been living among the Indians for nearly 2 years.

EDUCATION.—The Papago youth of both sexes show considerable capacity for mental culture. Many of the Papagos speak Spanish fluently, even after having been at school for 2 or 3 years. When at home on their vacations they only hear Papago and Spanish, which tends to the disuse of what English they have acquired. They are docile, mild in disposition, and well inclined toward their teachers. They learn slowly but surely. The chief difficulty of receiving any permanent benefit from educating them is that they are so disastrously affected by the conditions which meet them when they return to their homes. They virtually return to barbarism and all old influences of a nonprogressive character.

The boys readily learn improved methods of agriculture, also the trades of tinsmith, blacksmith, and carpenter, while the girls learn sewing, cooking, and the general duties of housekeeping.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—During the 3 years of the Tucson Presbyterian mission school 73 Papago children have been enrolled. There are 30 now on the rolls. The number enrolled at the San Xavier reservation schools is about 20. At Sacaton there are 15 Papagos on the roll. The government school there is well conducted.

It will be seen that in the district visited, with the addition of the Papago scholars at San Xavier, not more than 100 in all of these children are in school. The total number of Papago children of school age is probably about 2,000. Their parents will exercise no authority to secure their attendance at school even when they wish them to go, nor, on the other hand, do they hinder them if they desire an education.

PATHOLOGICAL.—The Papagos are very liable to consumption and pneumonia. This arises from the exposure to which they are subject in inclement weather, as all mud roofs leak in protracted rains and a pitch sufficient to carry off the rain would cause the adobe itself to wash off entirely. Many of the tribe are pitted badly with smallpox. Children are subject to measles and whooping cough in addition to lung difficulties. The Papagos have no medical treatment whatever among themselves, and in case of sickness resort to the "medicine man" with his mummeries.

The Indians seem to be able to deal with flesh injuries, but are powerless in cases of disease or fractures of bones. In acute local pain they sometimes put a pinch of cotton on the flesh and burn it there, repeating the process on a new spot at a little distance. Ordinarily their only resource is stoical submission.

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITED on the Indians of the White Mountain Apache reservation, Fort Apache subagency, and the Apache, Mohave, and Papago Indians of the San Carlos agency, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying reservations: (a) Arevapai, Chilion, Chirihahwa, Kaiotero, Mimbres, Magollon, Mohavi, Pinal, San Carlos, Sinato, Tonto, and Yuma-Apache.

The unallotted area of the White Mountain reservation is 2,038,000 acres, or 3,200 square miles. The outboundaries have been surveyed. It was established, altered, or changed by executive orders November 9, 1871, December 14, 1872, August 5, 1873, July 21, 1874, April 27, 1876, and January 26 and March 31, 1877.

Indian population June 1, 1890: White Mountain Apaches, 3,131; White Mountain reservation, Fort Apache subagency, 1,890; total Apaches, 4,041; Mohave reservation, 331; Yuma reservation, Mohaves, 240; total at agency, 4,082.

The San Carlos agency is situated on a mesa immediately below the junction of the San Carlos with the Gila river. The altitude is about 2,900 feet above sea level. The records of the United States signal service show that the highest temperature for the summer of 1890 reached, July 6, 108°, the lowest for the winter of 1889–1890 was January 20, being 26°. The earliest frost in the fall of 1889 was November 2, and the latest frost in the spring of 1890 was March 16.

The agent reports to the Indian Office that many government buildings at San Carlos are in bad order. They consist of: No. 1, an adobe building 1 story high, 30 by 60 feet, one-half used as agent's dwelling, one-half for storehouse for grain, $1,600; No. 2, a 1-story adobe, built around a court, whole length about 300 feet, used for agent's offices, telegraph office, several rooms for dwelling, storerooms, shops, etc., whole in bad order, needs new roof, $3,000; No. 3, several small adobe buildings in rear of No. 2, used for shops, storerooms, etc., $200; No. 4, an adobe building, 1 story high, 32 by 53 feet, used as a meat shop, $800; No. 5, an adobe building, used for doctor's office and hospital, in bad order, $500; No. 6, a new stone building, 1 story high, 30 by 120 feet, with 4 cross partitions, built for storage, $5,000; No. 7, a stone building, same size as No. 6, now building, for shops; No. 8, a frame steam gristmill, $6,000; No. 9, a frame water gristmill (at Fort Apache), $6,000.

a The statements giving tribes, areas, and laws for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 454–465. The population is the result of the census.